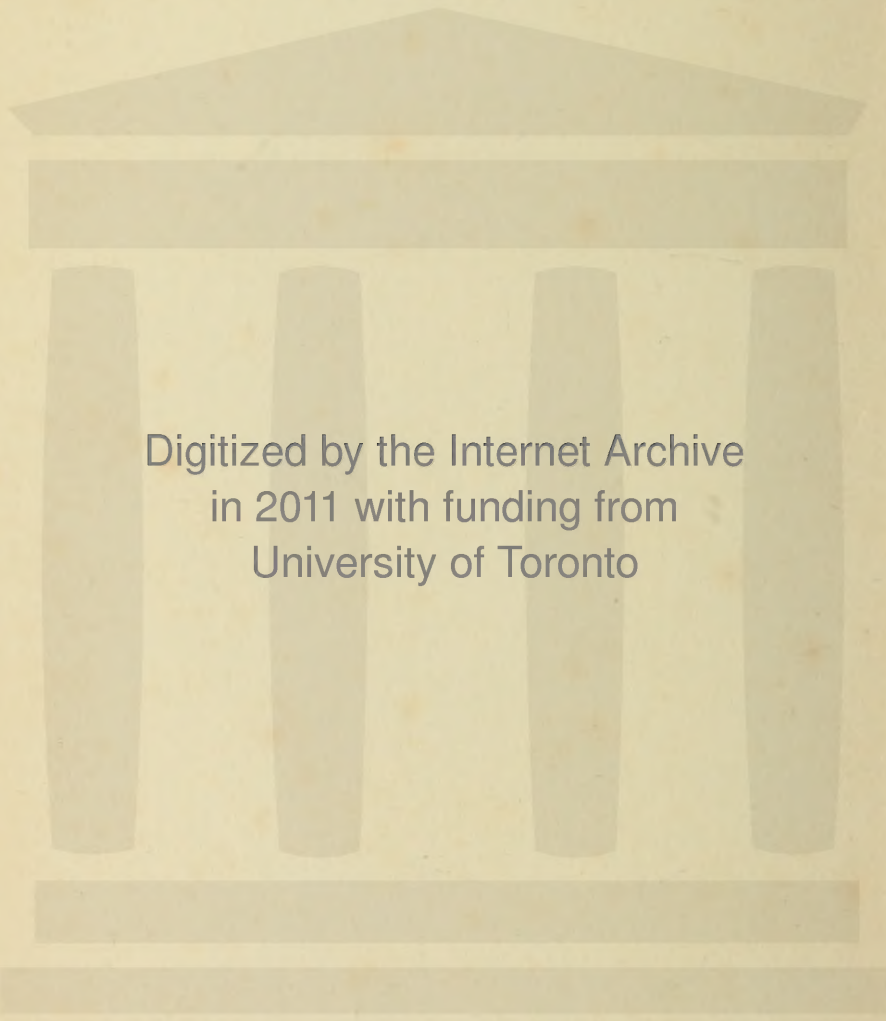


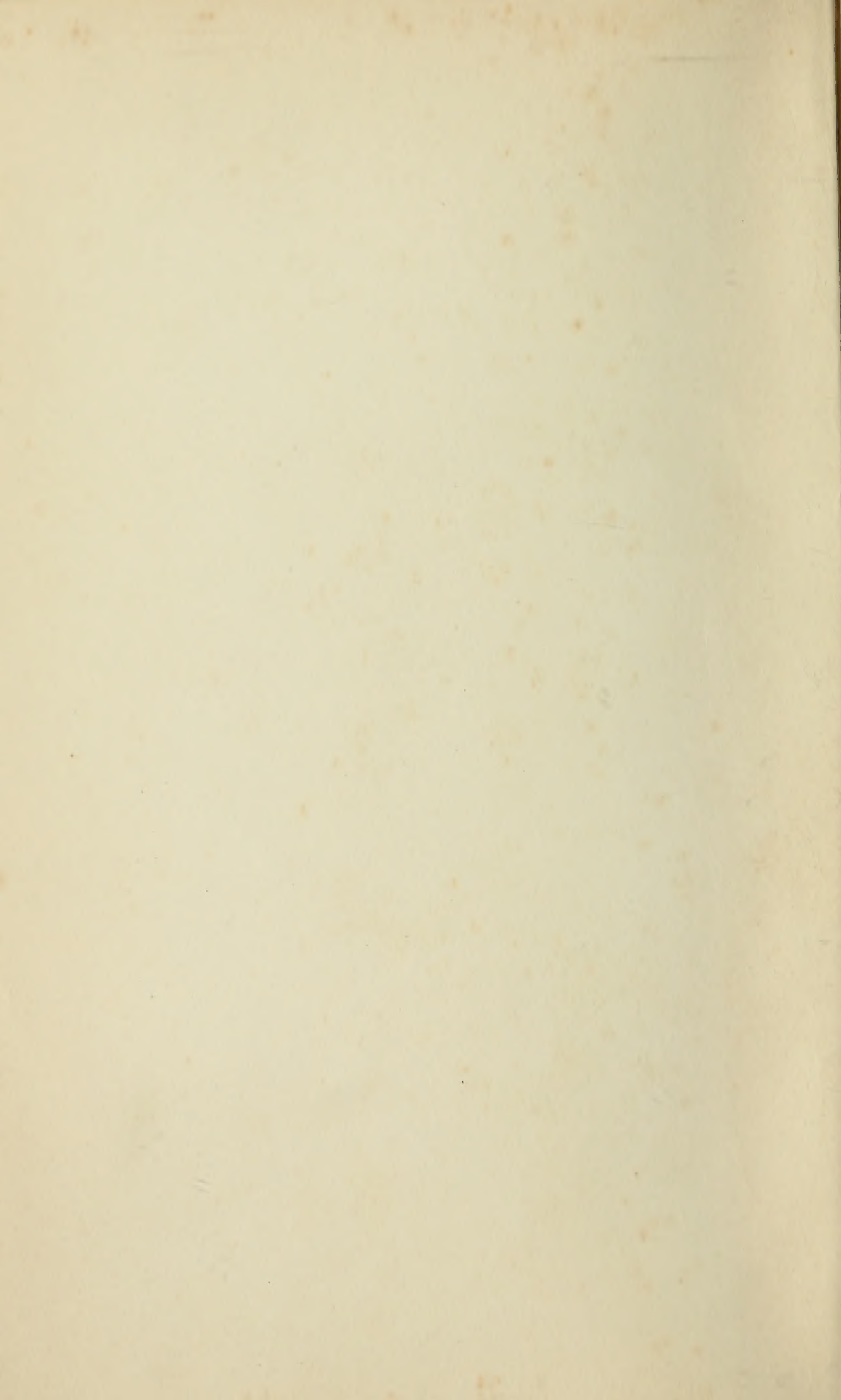
A
HISTORY
OF
BEAULIEU ABBEY







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A HISTORY OF BEAULIEU ABBEY



JAN 19 1971

To
The Memory of
Henry John Douglas Scott-Montagu,
First Baron Montagu of Beaulieu,
The first, but not the last,
of the lay owners of the Manor
who loved the Abbey.

A HISTORY OF BEAULIEU ABBEY

A.D. 1204-1539

BY

SIR JAMES K. FOWLER

K.C.V.O., M.A.

WARDEN OF BEAULIEU ABBEY

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS AND PLANS

*The proceeds of the sale of this book are devoted
to the care and maintenance of the
buildings of the Abbey*

THE CAR ILLUSTRATED
168 PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.

PREFACE.

THIS book originated in a promise, given in an incautious moment, to write a short Guide to Beaulieu Abbey ; a work which was truly said to be much wanted.

I had no more ambitious intention than to present, in a form free from technical terms, the very accurate description of the buildings contained in the paper in Vol. LXIII. of the *Archæological Journal*, by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, F.S.A., and Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., to whom all who are interested in the Abbey are so greatly indebted, and now none more so than myself.

Lord Montagu of Beaulieu kindly placed at my disposal a collection of letters and memoranda preserved by his father, the first bearer of that title, and from these I learned how anxious he had been that a history of the Abbey should be written, and also how much he had been disappointed that three persons by whom in succession the task had been undertaken, had each of them, not only failed to accomplish it, but had left behind him little or no trace of the labour upon which he had been supposed to be engaged.

Under these circumstances I was led to begin the larger work which is now completed, and presented with the apology for its defects which is generally to be found in a preface, and for which, as I am conscious, so good a reason does not often exist.

I have not attempted to write a continuous story of the Abbey ; for this the materials are lacking, as the Registers and Annals which, like other Cistercian Monasteries, it undoubtedly possessed, have almost certainly been destroyed. Such references as are contained in the

Public Records and in other ancient writings have been utilised, and the information so obtained has been grouped into chapters of which the titles sufficiently indicate the contents.

The work would not have been undertaken had not the papers preserved by Lord Montagu included numerous half-sheets and scraps of paper upon which were references to Beaulieu Abbey ; these were sent by the late Mr. Mackenzie Walcott to a friend, who was one of those of whom mention has just been made. On one scrap he writes : "When is your History of Beaulieu coming out ? It is already Horatian in age, and I doubt not also in wit."

I have to thank many friends for their kind assistance, and especially Lord Montagu, for placing all his books and papers at my disposal. My indebtedness to Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. Brakspear will be evident to those who may read the book. The Honble. Gerald Lascelles has kindly searched the records of the New Forest for references to Beaulieu and its abbats, who, I fear, often proved troublesome neighbours to his predecessors in charge of the Forest. My thanks are specially due to Mr. John Bilson, F.S.A., to Mr. Harold Brakspear, and to Mr. Ralph Hedley for the loan of illustrations, to Mr. D. Inward for much help, and to Mr. Charles Travis Clay for kindly reading the proofs of the book. I have endeavoured to recall the past, and in this I have been greatly assisted by Mr. F. Fissi, without whose artistic aid I could not have ventured to present, as I have tried to do, a picture of Beaulieu Abbey as it is and as it was in monastic days.

J. K. F.

THE VINEYARDS,

BEAULIEU,

April 1911.

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“ Here methinks
E'en here, sequestered from the noisy world,
Could I wear out this transitory being
In peaceful contemplation, and calm ease.
But conscience, which still censures on our acts,
That awful voice within us and the sense
Of an hereafter, wake, and rouse us up
From such unshaped retirement; which were else
A blest condition on this earthly stage.
For who would make his life a life of toil
For wealth, o'erbalanced with a thousand cares;
Or power, which base compliance must uphold;
Or honor, lavished most on courtly slaves;
Or fame, vain breath of a misjudging world;
Who for such perishable gaudes would put
A yoke upon his free, unbroken spirit,
And gall himself with trammels, and the rubs
Of this world's business; so he might stand clear
Of judgment, and the tax of idleness
In that dread audit, when his mortal hours
(Which now with soft and silent stealth pace by)
Must all be counted for? But for this fear,
And to remove, according to our pow'r,
The wants and evils of our brother's state,
'Tis meet we juggle with the world; content,
If by our Sovereign master we be found
At last not profitless; for worldly meed,
Given, or with-held, I deem of it alike.”

WILLIAM CROWE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

A VISIT to what is left of the ancient Abbey of Beaulieu must recall pleasant memories to those who have ever experienced the feeling of peace which comes to one within an ancient cathedral or its cloister.

It is often said "Those monks of old showed great wisdom in fixing the sites of their buildings and they knew the importance of a good supply of water." Perhaps the speakers do not always realise how much of the beauty of to-day is in many cases due to the buildings which the monks erected and to the trees which they planted, and possibly the monks are often credited with a wise choice in which they had no share, except that the place selected fulfilled certain conditions laid down by the Founders of their Order, conditions which were known to monks and laymen alike.

But at Beaulieu, alas! the principal buildings have been destroyed; moreover, the Forest was there before the monks came to settle, and the tidal river, with its constant change, was also there. It is beautiful at high tide, and, as some think, hardly less so when the tide is low, and its banks are covered with brown seaweed and green sea grass near the narrow stream. The river is navigable and navigated up to the quay opposite the outer gate of the abbey, and the top of the mast with the brown sail of a sea-going barge can often be seen, phantom-like, over the trees, before the boat itself comes into view.

Perhaps, however, it is most beautiful at night when the sky is clear, the tide high and the moon at the full

and immediately over the river, then viewed from the hill above, by Harford Wood, it looks like a dazzling stream of molten silver.

The manor lies in a "ring-fence," of which the boundaries are formed by the Forest, the Solent and the Beaulieu river; the approaches to it are protected, not always successfully, against the incursions of Forest ponies, donkeys and cows, by gates which are sometimes left open, and a group of such intruders is no uncommon sight in the only street of the village. Until lately it was a place but little known, but now the visitors to the Abbey by motor car alone are numbered each year in thousands, and some of them and others may wish to know more of its history than is contained in the Guide Book or imparted by the custodian, and to possess some record of a spot all the charms of which are possibly only known to those who have the good fortune to live there.

"Oh ye who dwell
Around yon ruins, guard the precious charge
From hands profane. Oh! save the sacred pile
O'er which the wing of centuries has flown
Darkly and silently; deep, shadowing all
Its pristine honours—from the ruthless grasp
Of future violation."

CARRINGTON.



CHAPTER II.

THE FOUNDER OF THE ABBEY.

KING JOHN was not a popular monarch. Except the Cistercians, whom he took under his especial protection, and the monks of the Abbey of Aberbrothick (Arbroath), probably few of his subjects cried "God Save the King," and meant it.

To Aberbrothick he granted very unusual privileges, for by Charter under his great Seal he exempted the Abbey "*a teloniis et consuetudine*"—from tolls and customs—in every part of England except London. Possibly at some time in his life he may have been near the Inchcape Rock and with

The mariners heard the warning bell,
And then they knew the perilous Rock,
And blest the Abbot of Aberbrothock.

Two events in the reign of King John are landmarks in the history of England. The first of these was the dispute between the King and the Pope in 1205, as to the right of nomination to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. John sought to impose on the monks of the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, with whom the right lay (subject to the King's wish), his treasurer, John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich as Archbishop; the monks chose their own Sub-prior, Reginald, and sent him to Rome to obtain the sanction of Pope Innocent III.

"Innocent¹ found Reginald to be a fool, and told the monks they must choose another. He suggested Stephen Langton; the monks chose him; John turned them all out in 1207, and in 1208 Innocent laid England under

¹ Huyshe, "The Royal Manor of Hitchin," p. 103.

an interdict. On the day appointed (23rd March) no church throughout the land opened its doors ; no mass was celebrated ; the sacraments were no longer administered, except to infants and those who were dying ; the bodies of the dead were buried in silence in unconsecrated ground. For six years England lay under the Ban of God."

"In May, 1213, John yielded all, and far more than all, he had been refusing for the last six years, and issued letters patent proclaiming peace and restitution to Archbishop Langton¹ and his fellow exiles, and inviting them to return at once. At the end of June or beginning of July they landed at Dover ; on the 17th or 18th July John met them at Porchester, fell at the Archbishop's feet with a 'Welcome, father !' and kissed him."

The second occurred at Easter, in 1215, when the barons rose in arms : then "Archbishop Langton remained at the King's side, not as his partisan, but as the advocate of his subjects. Together with William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, he carried overtures of conciliation from John to the barons at Brackley (April), and it was he who brought back and read out to the King the articles which were at last formally embodied in the Great Charter." Hugh, Abbat of Beaulieu, also acted as one of the intermediaries between the King and the barons during this national crisis.

The memory of King John has not been spared by historians, one of whom, discussing his relations with the Pope at the commencement of the dispute, writes thus :—

"The King stood on the ancient rights of his crown and utterly refused to accept a papal nominee ; but it is difficult to avoid seeing that a general attack on the clergy (which might end in the confiscation of a good deal of clerical property) had its charms for a man like John.

¹ " Dictionary of National Biography."

Every papal wile, every diplomatic resource was for three years exhausted by Innocent before he launched an interdict against England (1208); he then entrusted the publication of it to three bishops, who promptly fled after publishing it. But, whereas in 1164-70 the majority of the bishops had stood by the King, in the five years that followed Innocent's interdict the Church, as a whole, espoused the cause of the Pope. This was not only owing to the repulsive character and evil life of John, but was also the natural result of the failure of Henry II. to nationalise the Church of England. Probably the interdict was not very strictly observed; but John did confiscate the lands of all the clergy except those of the Cistercian monks. The lesser clergy were gradually allowed to redeem their lands by payment; but the property of the bishops was either kept in the hands of the King, who simply rioted on the proceeds, or given to unworthy favourites, of whom John always had a crowd at his court.

"But if the clergy were necessarily inclined to the side of the Pope, it was otherwise with the laity; though they feared the Pope much, they hated him more—even more perhaps at first than they hated the King. Indeed, it is from this time onward that we may date that deep distrust of sacerdotal pretensions which is such a remarkable feature in the history of such a deeply religious people as ourselves.

"The confiscation of the clerical lands seemed, to many pious laymen, a regrettable but righteous retribution for the enormous wealth and greed of all orders in the Church."¹

The two English monarchs, King John and Henry the Eighth, with whom the history of Beaulieu Abbey is chiefly concerned, were both despoilers of the Church: but this is not the only characteristic which they possessed in common, both, in regard to their public and private life, have been execrated by posterity; each of them, however,

¹ Fletcher, "An Introductory History of England," p. 176.

showed himself to be a man of great vitality, a quality which, when associated with wisdom and sound judgment, has often led its possessor far, even to a throne.

During the period covered by the history of Beaulieu Abbey the struggle to rid the country of the alien authority of the Court of Rome varied in intensity but never ceased. To-day that authority has disappeared from every country in Europe, and it is safe to predict that to no single one of them will it ever return.

The Founder of the Abbey spared the property of the Cistercians; would that their monasteries had been treated with equal consideration by the King who reigned 334 years after him. Beaulieu would then have possessed a shrine to which pilgrims from all parts of the world would have been attracted, and the monastic architecture of England would have been the richer by a noble example of the period of the Transition from the Norman to the Early Pointed style.

The events which immediately preceded the founding of Beaulieu Abbey are thus described in Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*,"¹ a storehouse of information on all that concerns the monastic orders in England. The account is taken from a MS. in the Cotton Library, which is believed to have belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall.

"In the sixth year of King John, the same King built a certain monastery of the Cistercian Order in England and named it *Bellus Locus*. This monastery is said to have been built by him for the following reason:—

"Because the same King was angry beyond measure without cause, against the abbats and other members of the aforesaid Cistercian Order and vexed them immoderately through his ministers. At a certain Parliament which he held at Lincoln, the abbats of the said

¹ Ed. Caley, Ellis & Bardinell, v. 682.

Order came to see if in any way they could regain the King's grace and favour. When he saw them, so cruel of mind was he, that he vilely ordered his servants to trample the said abbats under the feet of the horses. But the royal servants, being unwilling to perform so atrocious and unheard-of a command from any Christian prince, these lord abbats, because they almost despaired of the royal bounty, hastily returned to their lodgings.

"On the following night, when the same King John was sleeping in his bed, it seemed to him that he had been led before a certain judge, the aforesaid abbats standing there, who ordered the said abbats to beat the said King upon his back with scourges and rods. And this very beating, on awakening in the morning, he said he felt. Moreover, he narrated his dream to a certain ecclesiastical personage of his court, who told him that God was merciful to him beyond measure, in that he had deigned so clemently and paternally to correct him in this present age and to reveal to him his mysteries, and he counselled the King to send speedily for the abbats of the said Order, and to beg from them an humble pardon for his guilt. The King assenting, they were sent for to come to the King. On hearing this from the King's messenger, they thought they would be banished from England. But God, who leaves not his own, disposed otherwise, for when they had come into the King's presence the same King relaxed his indignation which he had towards them."

Warner in his *History of Hampshire*¹ comments as follows upon this story:—

"The reasons which impelled John to this act of *piety* (as it was then considered) are not easily to be conjectured.

"His known dislike to the clergy, renders any deeds of kindness to them rather extraordinary; and the monks

¹ Vol. I., p. 259.

availing themselves of the singularity which attends this exception to his general oppressive and contumelious conduct towards churchmen recur to their commodious system of miraculous interposition for an explanation of it."

"So much of this story¹ as relates to the vexatious treatment of the Cistercian abbats is based evidently on the pecuniary claims made upon the Order when King John was at York in March, 1200. These claims are set forth at length by the writer of the Coggeshall Chronicle, who was himself a Cistercian. He also gives the text of the writs issued by the King when at Lincoln, in November of the same year, informing the respective sheriffs that he had received into full favour the abbats of the Cistercian Order, and taken all their goods and possessions into his own hand, custody and protection.

"Although there does not seem to be any direct connection between the King's alleged dream and the founding of Beaulieu Abbey, there are certain facts which show that John did actually begin a foundation of Cistercian monks within reasonable date of his making peace with the Order.

"This foundation, however, was not at Beaulieu, but on the royal manor of Faringdon, in Berkshire. The actual date of it does not appear, but on the Liberate Roll for the King's fifth regnal year are two writs, both dated 5th July, 1203.

"The one is addressed to Geoffrey Fitzpiers, directing him to find out what the Cistercian monks have spent on seed and other necessary expenses in the manor of Faringdon, and repay them what they are out of pocket.

"The other writ is to Hugh de Nevill, bidding him to see what timber the Cistercian monks need to make

¹ "The Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu," St. John Hope and Brakspear; *The Archæological Journal*, Vol. LXIII., No. 251, p. 129.

sheepcotes and other necessary houses at Faringdon, and to let them have it from the King's wood.

"On 2nd November of the same year, the King issued another writ to Hugh de Nevill ordering him to let 'the monks of Faringdon have timber in a convenient place for building their houses according to the number of monks.'

"On the same 2nd November the King also issued a charter, granting to the Church of the Blessed Mary of Citeaux, for the salvation of the souls of himself and his predecessors and his heirs, the manor of Faringdon 'as the monks of the aforesaid monastery of Citeaux who are at Faringdon hold it, with its appurtenances, to build there a certain abbey of the Cistercian Order, so that there may be a convent there.'

"For some reason, perhaps on account of the smallness of the endowment, the scheme was not apparently at once carried into effect, and in the course of the following year the King formally founded a new and more important abbey at a place called *Bellus Locus* or Beaulieu, in the New Forest, to which, amongst other endowments, the manor of Faringdon was annexed."



CHAPTER III.

THE CHARTER OF FOUNDATION.

NUM. IV.

CARTA FUNDATIONIS PER REGEM JOHANNEM

(Cart. 2. E. III. m. 24, n. 80 per Inspex. Vide Cart. antiq.
G. n. 15).

CHARTER 6 JOHN; CONFIRMED BY EDWARD 3, AS INROLLED
ON THE CHARTER ROLL OF 2 EDWARD 3.
No. 123, M. 24, Sec. 80.

For the Abbat and Convent of King's Beaulieu.

JOHN by the Grace of God King of England Lord
of Ireland Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine Earl
of Anjou To the Archbishops Bishops Abbats Priors
Earls Barons Justices Keepers of the Forests Reeves Minis-
ters and all his bailiffs and faithful servants greeting.

Sciatis nos pro salute animæ
nostræ et animarum antecess-
orum et hæredum nostrorum
dedisse, concessisse, et presenti
carta nostra confirmasse Deo et
ecclesie sanctæ Mariæ de Bello-
loco Regis quam nos fundavimus
in Nova Forresta in Suthampte-
schire, et Abbati et Monachis
ibidem Deo servientibus et servi-
turis, ipsum locum in quo sita
est Abbatia eorum cum tota
terra infra metas subscriptas

KNOW ye that we for the health
of our soul and of the souls of
our ancestors and heirs have
given granted and by our present
charter have confirmed to God
and to the church of St. Mary
of King's Beaulieu which we
have founded in the New Forest
in Southamptonshire, and to the
Abbat and Monks there serving
and to serve God, the very place
in which their Abbey is situated
with all the land contained

contenta ; silicet cum tota angulorum super mare in praedicta forresta a primo termino super mare sicut aqua cadit in mare sub Colgrimesmore, quae Freiswater dicitur ; et exinde usque ad caput de Colgrimesmore ubi mora se furcat ; et exinde usque ad Wolfwarelane et exinde usque ad caput occidentale de Bromhaye per fossatum usque ad longum vadum, et de longo vado usque ad fossatum de Hurpleya quod dominus rex Ricardus incipere fecit, Et de fossato illo usque ad vadum de Hareford. Et de illo vado per mediam hydram recta linea usque ad originem fontium aquae de Schirebourne quae tendit usque ad praedictam abbatiam de Bello-loco Regis. Et de origine fontium aquae praedictae recta linea usque ad alveum fossati super quem eadem Abbatia fundata est, et praedictum alveum a praedicto vado de Hareford cum fluctu maris in ascendendo et descendendo infra utramque ripam, ita quod quicquid est infra praedictos terminos remaneat, praedictae Abbatiae Belli-loci Regis. Deditur etiam eisdem monachis manerium nostrum de Farendone, scilicet magnam-Farendon, et parvam-Farendon, et magnam-Cokewell, et parvam-Cokewell, et villas de Schulton, et Inglesham, cum omnibus pertinenciis, et libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis. Et praeterea Ecclesias de Schulton, Inglesham, cum capella de Cokewella et cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et quic-

within the bounds under written ; to wit with all the land within the angles bounding upon the sea in the aforesaid forest from the first abuttal upon the sea as the water which is called Freshwater¹ falls into the sea under Colgrimesmore ; and thence to the head of Colgrimesmore where the moor divides itself ; and thence to Wolfwarelane, and thence to the western head of Bromhaye² by the ditch to the long ford, and from the long ford to the ditch of Hurpleya³ which our Lord King Richard began to make. And from that ditch to the ford of Hareford.⁴ And from that ford through the midst of the hide in a straight line to the source of the water of Schirebourne which extends to the aforesaid Abbey of King's Beaulieu. And from the source of the water aforesaid in a straight line to the channel of the ditch on which the same Abbey is founded. And the aforesaid channel from the aforesaid ford of Hareford with the flow of the sea ascending and descending within either bank, so that whatever is within the aforesaid boundaries shall remain to the aforesaid Abbey of King's Beaulieu. WE have given also to the same Monks our Manor of Farendon, to wit Great Farendon, and Little Farendon, and Great Cokewell, and Little Cokewell ; and the vills of Schulton, and Inglesham with all their appurtenances and liberties and free customs. And moreover the

¹ "Colgrimesmore" is the land around Sowley Pond and "Freshwater" is the pond and the stream running from it to the sea.

² Bromhaye = Broomy ground.

³ Hurpleya = Ipley.

⁴ Hareford = Harford.

quid habebamus in villa de Langeford. Concedimus eciam eisdem monachis et confirmavimus omnes rationabiles donationes terrarum, hominum, et elemosinarum eis vel in praesenti a nobis collatis vel in futuro a regibus vel ex aliorum liberalitate conferendas, vel aliter adquisitas vel adquirendas, tam in ecclesiis, quam in rebus et possessionibus mundanis. Quare volumus, &c. Dat per manum Hug. de Welles archid. Wellen. apud Wynton, xxv. die Januarii, anno regni nostri sexto.

Churches of Schulton, and Inglesham, with the Chapel of Coke-well and with all their appurtenances and whatever we have in the vill of Langeford.

WE GRANT also and have confirmed to the same Monks all reasonable gifts of lands, men and alms either at present conferred upon them by us or hereafter to be conferred by the liberality of kings or others, or otherwise acquired or to be acquired, as well in churches as in worldly goods and possessions.

Wherefore we will and firmly command that the aforesaid Monks of King's Beaulieu and their men shall have and hold all their possessions and alms well and in peace freely and quietly entirely fully and honourably with all their liberties and free customs and acquittances in wood and plain in meadows and pastures in ways and paths in waters and mills in ponds and fish ponds in marshes and fisheries in granges and orchards within borough and without with soc¹ and sac¹ toll and theam Infangenthief and Utfangenthief hamsocæ Gredbrich Blodwyte Fohtwyte Ferdwyte Hengwyte Leyrwyte Flemenefrid murder robbery Forstal Ordel and Oreste for all time and in all places with all causes which they have or can have WE HAVE GRANTED also that the aforesaid Monks may be for ever free from all amercements and that they and their men may be free from all scot and geld and from all aids of the Kings, the sheriffs, and of all their ministers And from hidage carucage Danegeld Horngeld and bearing arms and from scutage tallage lastage stallage and from pleas and suits of Shires and Hundreds and Wapentakes Wards and Wardpenny Averpenny Hundredpenny Bordhalfpenny Tithingpenny and from works of castles parks bridges and from inclosures and from all cariage summage navage and from building of royal houses and from all manner of work AND we forbid their woods to be taken for the aforesaid or for any other works and likewise the corn of them and their men shall not be taken for provisioning castles WE grant also that all their tenements as well in wood as in plain shall be de-afforested and altogether taken out of the jurisdiction of the forests WE command also that the aforesaid Monks and their men shall be free and quit from all Toll in every marketplace and in all fairs and in all passage of bridges of ways and of the sea throughout our entire kingdom and through all our lands in which we can grant these liberties to them AND all the markets of them and

¹ For the meaning of these and other Anglo-Saxon and Norman words found in this Charter, see Glossary, p. 14.



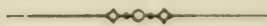
A MAP SHOWING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE MANOR OF BEAULIEU.



their men in the aforesaid places shall likewise be quit from all toll AND that the ships of the same Monks shall have free passage by the Thames from Farendon to the sea without any exaction and custom WE grant also and confirm to them that if any of their men for his fault ought to lose life or member or shall have fled and be unwilling to stand to judgment or shall have committed any other crime for which he ought to lose his chattels that the same chattels shall go to the aforesaid Monks Likewise if any of their men be amerced towards us or our Bailiffs for any cause or crime or forfeiture the price and amercement shall be rendered to the aforesaid Monks saving to the Royal power judgment of death and members. Moreover all these things aforesaid and all other acquittances liberties and free customs which are not comprehended in this Charter which the Royal power can confer on any house of Religion we grant and confirm most fully to the aforesaid Monks of King's Beaulieu for the love of God and for the souls of King Henry our father and Henry and Richard our brothers formerly Kings of England and Queen Eleanor our mother and for the health of our soul and of all our ancestors and heirs AND we forbid that anyone shall forfeit in anywise upon any forfeiture due to us to them or their men contrary to this our charter under penalty of £20 Moreover we have taken them and all the goods and possessions of them and their men into our care and special protection AND we forbid that they shall be put in plea concerning any tenement of theirs except before us or our heirs WITNESSES the Lord Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury the Lords William of London Eustace of Ely Herbert of Salisbury Simon of Chichester Bishops Geoffrey son of Peter Earl of Essex Ranulph Earl of Chester William Earl of Salesbares our brother William de Brahos William Briwere Hugh de Nevill Sayer de Quyncey Peter de Stok Given by the hand of Hugh de Welles Archdeacon of Wells at Winchester the twenty-fifth day of January in the sixth year of our reign.

The rights and privileges granted to the Abbey under this charter could hardly have been more complete, and, as will be seen later, when the abbats or their men were in any difficulty with the law, and such occasions were apparently not very rare, they produced their Charter and were declared to be "quit."

GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN THE FOUNDATION CHARTER.



- SOC, SOKA, SOCNA.—Liberty to minister justice and execute law. The place, territory, or precinct wherein *saka* or liberty of Court was exercised.
- SAC, SAKA.—A liberty or power granted by the King to try and judge causes and of receiving the forfeitures arising from them within the limit, dominion, or jurisdiction of the court.
- TOLL.—Payment to the owner of a market for goods bought or sold in the market.
- THEAM.—A privilege to take and keep bondmen, villeins, and slaves, with their generations, one after another.
- INFANGENTHIEF.—A liberty granted to try and judge a thief, taken within the jurisdiction of the burgh.
- UTFANGENTHIEF.—A liberty to take a thief that fled and bring him back to the court or place within which the act was committed and there to try and judge him.
- HAMSOCA.—A liberty of holding pleas dealing with the violent invasion of a man's house.
- GREDBRICH, GRYTHBRUCK.—A privilege of trying such as were guilty of an infraction of the King's peace.
- BLODWYTE.—An exemption from paying the customary fines for blood being shed in the district; and a privilege of holding pleas, and *taking* fines on that account.
- FIZTWYTE, FOHTWYTE.—A liberty of prosecuting and fining all contentious and defamatory persons.
- FERDWYTE, FREDWYTE.—An exemption from fines for not going forth on a military expedition.
- HENGWYTE.—A liberty to be quit of a felon or thief hanged without judgment, or escaped out of custody.
- LEYRWHITE.—A fine for adultery anciently paid to the lords of some manors.
- FLEMENFRID.—A fine for the reception or relief of a fugitive or outlaw.

MURDER.—A freedom from fine for the place where the murder was committed and for not producing the murderer if he fled.

FORSTAL, FORESTALL.—A freedom from fine and arrest of chattels for buying and selling again the same thing in the same market.

ORDEL.—A privilege of administering oaths and adjudging crimes by the proof of the ordeal.

SCOT.—A customary contribution laid on all persons according to their ability.

GELD.—Tributes of various kinds.

AIDS.—Benevolences lawfully payable by a tenant to his lord on certain occasions.

HIDAGE.—A tax payable to the crown for every hide of land.

CARUCAGE.—A tax imposed on every plough.

DANEGELD.—A tax levied to maintain a force to clear the seas of Danish pirates.

VILL.—A collection of many neighbours forming a village or manor, or the out-part of a parish.

HORNGELD.—A forest-tax paid for horned beasts.

SCUTAGE.—A tax towards furnishing the King's army.

TALLAGE.—Taxes payable on demesne lands at the will of the lord.

LASTAGE.—A toll payable by traders attending fairs and markets.

STALLAGE.—The liberty of pitching stalls in fairs or markets, or the rent payable for the same.

WAPENTAKES.—A division of Yorkshire or an assembly of the division, originally to touch the spear of the overlord in token of homage when he appeared for justice.

WARDS.—The same as above ; (?) assembly of a "hundred."

WARDPENNY.—Money paid to watch and ward.

AVERPENNY.—Money paid towards the King's averages or carriages.

HUNDREDPENNY.—A tax collected by the sheriff or lord of a hundred.

BORDHALFPENNY, BOREHALPANI.—A toll paid for setting up boards, tables, or booths, in markets.

TITHINGPENNY.—A small duty payable to the sheriff from each tithing towards the charge of keeping courts.

CARIAGE.—A service of carrying or payment in lieu of the same.

SUMMAGE.—Tolls for carriage on horseback.

NAVAGE.—A duty on certain tenants to carry their lord's goods in a ship.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

IN the Charter of Foundation the name is given in Latin as *Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae de Bello-loco Regis*, which in English is "The Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of *Bellus-Locus* of the King." That name in French was Beau Lieu, "a beautiful place," and it is a pity that it did not so remain, for in Bewlay, or Bewley, its meaning and origin were effectually hidden.

In the Annals of Waverley (1. Op. Gale, II., 168) we read "A^o 1204 Rex Johannes quondam Abbatiam de ordine Cisterci construxit, quod *Bellum Locum* nominavit, prope locum ubi Wilhelmus Ruffus occisus est."

The question may be asked—why did the King give it the name of Bellus Locus or Beaulieu? It is necessary to go rather far back to obtain the answer, but it is, I think, given in a conclusive form in the following extracts from an article by Sir Edmund T. Bewley on "Beaulieu as a Place-Name"¹:—

"The name Beaulieu, or its Latin equivalent Bellus Locus, or in the British Islands the anglicised form Bewley, has been from time to time so frequently applied to monastic or ecclesiastical sites, that it may be of interest to attempt to ascertain its origin and trace its use.

"In A.D. 855 an abbey was founded by Rodulfe, Archbishop of Bourges, a son of the Comte de Turenne, in an obscure village of Limousin called Vellinus. When choosing the site of the new religious house on

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 9th S. $\frac{\text{III}}{\text{VIII}}$ Nov. 16, 1901, p. 397.

his own domains at the entrance to a smiling valley, watered by the Dordogne, and protected on the north and south by lofty hills planted with vines and fruit trees, the noble prelate gave it from the beauty of its position the name of *Bellus Locus*, from which in course of time were derived successively *Belloc*, *Belluec*—in the Limousin dialect *Bellec* or *Belle*—and the modern *Beaulieu*.¹

“It was placed under the rule of St. Benedict and under the invocation of St. Peter, whence it became thereafter known as S. Petrus de Bello Loco or St. Pierre de Beaulieu.

“In the latter half of the tenth century the Abbey had attained a very remarkable degree of prosperity, and its possessions extended over Le Bas Limousin, of which it held almost one-third, and the north of Quercy. In this way the name *Bellus Locus* became widely known and acquired a high repute.

“This is the earliest use of *Bellus Locus* as a place-name that I have been able to discover, and it appears to have been chosen by the founder of the abbey as descriptive of the locality. ‘Qui locus nuper a rusticis Vellinus a nobis autem *Bellus Locus* nominatur.’ ”²

Another Benedictine monastery of still older foundation came also to be called *Bellus Locus*. About the year 642 Rodingus (known in later times as St. Rouin), an Irish monk, coming to Gaul shortly after Columbanus, founded a monastery in the forests of the Argonne, about seven leagues from Verdun, in a place originally called *Waslogium*, but some centuries later known as *Bellus Locus*: “Se recepit in locum *Waslogium* quen

¹ “*Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Beaulieu (en Limousin)*,” par Maximin Deloche, p. XIII.

² “*Gallia Christiana*,” first edition, tome IV., p. 147; “*Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Beaulieu*,” p. 2.

posterī mutati nomine Bellum Locum ob pulcherrimum situm loci vocare maluerunt.”¹

The period at which the name of Bellus Locus became attached to the monastery cannot now be ascertained, but it was probably some time after the foundation of the abbey of Bellus Locus in Limousin. It had got that name when the “Chronicon Virdunense” was written, *i.e.*, about 1090.² The name would hardly have been appropriate at the time of its foundation, for, according to Mabillon and the authors of “Gallia Christiana,” the site of the monastery had been occupied by the dens of wild beasts, and the chanting of the monks replaced the howling of wolves.

In 1007 Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou, founded a monastery near Loches in Touraine, to which the name of Bellus Locus was given; and this was also placed under the Benedictine rule.³

A diploma of Henry II., King of England, without date, but attributed to the year 1172, given in “Table Chronologique des Diplômes,” &c., tome III., p. 467, is “datum apud *Bellum Locum* juxta Lochas”; and a diploma of Pope Alexander III., dated April, 1173, addressed to this community, describes them as “dilectis Filiis Giraldo Abbati monasterii de *Bello loco* ejusque fratribus.”⁴

The manufacturing town of Beaulieu, on the banks

¹ “Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti,” by Mabillon, tome I., p. 352; “Gallia Christiana,” second edition, tome XIII., 1264.

² Dom Bouquet’s “Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,” tome X., pp. 205-7.

³ Mabillon, “Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti,” tome IV., p. 195; “Table Chronologique des Diplômes concernant l’Histoire de la France,” par MM. de Brequigny et Mouchet, tome I., p. 521. “Sub idem tempus [*i.e.* 1007] in ipso pago Turonico prope Loccas, oppidum ad fluvium Angerem . . . monasterium conditum est a situ Bellus Locus appellatum.”

⁴ “Gallia Christiana,” first edition, tome IV., p. 152.

of the Indre, connected with Loches by bridges, now contains the ruins of this ancient monastery.

In the twelfth and thirteen centuries, and in some instances at an earlier date, various religious houses were founded to which names connected with the nature of the sites were given; for example:—*Bonus Locus* (Bonlieu), *Clarus Locus* (Clairlieu), *Carus Locus* (Charlieu), *Bellus Campus* (Belchamp and Beauchamp), *Bellus Pratus* (Beaupré), *Bella Vallis* (Beauval), *Bona Vallis* (Bonnevalle), *Clara Vallis* (Clairvaux), *Vallis Clausa* (Vaucluse), *Bellus Mons* (Beaumont), *Clarus Mons* (Clermont), *Bonus Fons* (Bonfontaine), *Clarus Fons* (Clairefontaine), *Bonus Portus* (Bonport).¹ But, though some of these names may be found connected with two or more monastic foundations, none of them had the same extensive range as *Bellus Locus*.

When the Cistercian Order was established in the twelfth century, as an offshoot of the Benedictines, the name of *Bellus Locus* was not disregarded by it in its new foundations. In 1141 an abbey, called *Bellus Locus*, was founded by the Cistercians in the diocese of Rodez²; and in 1166 the monastery of *Bellus Locus* of the Cistercian Order was established near Langres, in the diocese of Mâcon.³

About 1140 the priory of *Bellus Locus* (Beaulieu), of the Benedictine Order, was founded in Bedfordshire as a cell to the monastery of St. Alban's by Robert de Albini and Cicely his mother.⁴

But, although the name of *Bellus Locus* for the site of a religious foundation was first associated with the

¹ See "Gallia Christiana," *passim*, "Table Chronologique des Diplômes," &c.

² "*Ibid.*," second edition, tome I., 267.

³ "*Ibid.*," second edition, tome IV., 845.

⁴ Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. III., p. 274.

Benedictine Order, its use was not confined to the Benedictines and Cistercians. In the beginning of the twelfth century, Eustace, Lord of Fiennes, built the abbey of Bellus Locus near Ambletusa, in the diocese of Boulogne, for the Augustinian Order¹ and Augustinian monasteries bearing the name of Bellus Locus were established in 1124 at Le Mans, and about 1170 at Dinan in Brittany, in the diocese of St. Malo.² The Premonstratensians had a monastery called Bellus Locus in the diocese of Troyes, which was founded originally for the Augustinians, and is said to have received its name "quod in amœnâ et suavi temperie cœli solique ac jucundissimo fundo fuerit constructum."

In 1200 a priory of regular canons, called Bellus Locus, was founded in the diocese of Rouen by John de Preaux³; in 1224 the nunnery of S. Maria de Bello Loco, near Douai, in the diocese of Arras, was placed under the rule of St. Augustine⁴; and in 1250, or thereabouts, the nunnery of Bellus Locus, of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, in the diocese of Cahors, was constituted an abbey.⁵

Religious foundations in Flanders and Hainault, bearing the name of Bellus Locus, or Beaulieu, will be found mentioned in "Table Chronologique des Chartes et Diplômes Imprimés concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique."⁶

Reference may also be made to the priory of Beaulieu, in the diocese of Lincoln, mentioned under the date of July, 1349, in "Calendar of Papal Registers" (Papal

¹ "Gallia Christiana," second edition, tome X., 1614.

² *Ibid.*, tome XIV., 512, 1031.

³ *Ibid.*, tome XI., 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, tome III., 448.

⁵ *Ibid.*, tome I., 194.

⁶ Tome II., pp. 469, 662; tome III., pp. 374, 500, 609; and tome VI., pp. 570, 571.

Letters, vol. III., p. 326), and to the priory of Beaulieu, in the county of Inverness, mentioned in "Calendar of Papal Registers" (Petitions, vol. I., pp. 596-7), in a petition of 1411. At a place called Bewley, in the parish of Kilmolash and in the county of Waterford, there are the remains of a monastic building, but to what Order it belonged is uncertain.

The name *Bellus Locus*, or Beaulieu, was sometimes given to monastic or ecclesiastical possessions other than the sites of religious houses. About the year 1264 Hugh de Derlington, prior of the Benedictine convent of Durham, appears to have erected a manor house on lands of the convent in the parish of Billingham, and given it the name of Beaulieu.¹ Connected with the manor was a grange, or farmhouse, and the division of the parish of Billingham in which the manor house was situate came to be called in modern times Newtown-Bewley, while the division containing the grange was called Cowpen-Bewley.²

Beaulieu, now known as Bewdley, in Worcestershire, was at one time a manor belonging to the Benedictine priory of St. Mary's, Worcester,³ and, no doubt, was given its name by its monastic owners.

Bewley Castle, near Appleby, in Westmoreland, was one of the early residences of the Bishop of Carlisle, and is called *Bellus Locus* in the "Taxatio Vicariæ Ecclesiæ Sancti Michaelis de Appleby," of 1256.⁴ Hugh, the third Bishop of Carlisle, had been Abbat of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, and on being elevated to the see of Carlisle in 1218, or at some time during his tenure of office, he may well

¹ "History of Robert de Graystones," Surtees Society's Publications, vol. IX., p. 46.

² Surtees's "History of Durham," vol. III., p. 150.

³ "Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward III., 1337-9," p. 194.

⁴ Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. III., pp. 586-7.

have given to this episcopal residence a name, not only descriptive of its position, but directly associated with his former life.

In 1212 the abbat and monks of St. Denis en Broqueroie in Hainault authorised Badouin de Lobbes, seneschal of Valenciennes, to establish a chapelry at Havré, near Valenciennes, in the place called *Bellus Locus* (Beaulieu).¹

The names of the parish and rectory of Bewley, in the county of Kilkenny, and the parish and rectory of Beaulieu, in the county of Louth, had, no doubt, an ecclesiastical or monastic origin, though it may be impossible now to ascertain the circumstances under which they were first given.

On a review of the matters above stated it would appear that in ancient times *Bellus Locus* was in some instances essentially a descriptive name, of the same character as *Clarus Fons* or *Vallis Clausa*; but one may conjecture, I think, that in other cases it was used figuratively, the monastery to which the name was attached being "a fair place" in contrast to its lawless or wild surroundings. The main reason, however, for its adoption in after-times would, I think, be the prestige acquired by some of the monasteries that first bore the name. The name for centuries may be said to have had a genuine monastic ring, and its association with great religious houses and with influential monastic Orders may be the principal cause of its frequent and widespread use."

The evidence contained in the foregoing article conclusively establishes the origin of the early name *Bellus Locus*; in Norman French, Beaulieu. The corruption of this name into Bewlay or Bewley and an almost endless number of other forms will be dealt with later, but it is interesting to note that a similar change has taken place in the names of other Cistercian Abbeys—names which

¹ "Table Chronologique des Chartres," &c., vol. III., p. 374.

sometimes, as in the case of Beaulieu, implied that they were situated amid beautiful surroundings. Thus De Valle Dei, "the valley of God," becomes Vaudey; de Bella Landa—By Land; Parcum Lude—Louth Park; De Mira Valle, "the wonderful valley," is changed to Mereval; Joreval becomes Jervaux; de Valle Regali is Anglicised into Vale Royal; Albalanda becomes White Land, and Strata Florida, "the flowery meadows," Stratfleur. But De Valle Crucis—The Valley of the Cross—Dieulacres, God's Acres, and Fountains are more fortunate and retain their names unchanged.

It has been objected to the view here put forward that it does not account for the possession by the place now called Beaulieu of any name at all before the foundation of the abbey. The reply is that the manor of Beaulieu only came into existence in A.D. 1204 by the act of the King. Previously it formed an integral part of the New Forest and, so far as is known, the site of the Abbey was nameless, like many other parts of the forest at that period.

The following extract is from the Fifth Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the State and Condition of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown and to Sell or Alienate Fee Farm and other Unimprovable Rents. Dated, 22nd July, 1789.

Page 3, paragraph 3 :—"This is the only Forest belonging to the Crown of which the origin is known; Domesday Book contains the most distinct account of its afforestation by William the Conqueror. The contents of every Field, Farm, or Estate afforested, in Hides, Carucates, or Virgates, by which the extent of land was then computed, together with the names of the Hundreds and Villages, and of the former Proprietors (which are for the most part Saxon), the Rent or Yearly Value of each Possession, and the Tax which had been paid for it to

the Crown, during the reign of Edward the Confessor, before the inhabitants were expelled, and that part of the country laid waste, are all to be found in that most curious and venerable Record."

It may be remarked in passing that the statements as to the inhabitants being expelled and "the country laid waste" are monkish fables accepted by careless historians which and whom no one now believes. (*Vide* Cobbett's "Rides," 18th October, 1826.)

Domesday Book does not contain the name of any place in Hampshire which can be identified as having occupied the site of Beaulieu Abbey, or a name which translated into Latin would appear as *Bellus Locus*.

The only names in Domesday Book of places known to be near Beaulieu are—

Hariford, 2 hides ;

Ostreorde (Otterwood), 1 hide.

At Oxlei, 2 hides less 4 acres of meadow land were included in the Forest when it was afforested. The name Oxlei is now represented in Oxleys (Oxlease) Wood.

It is probable that the cultivated land near the site of the Abbey was in 1086 included, either wholly or in part, under the above names.

That the site of the Abbey and of the village should at that time have been nameless is not, I think, a fact in any way remarkable. These words are written from a house on the edge of Harford Wood, *i.e.*, Hareford or Hariford, overlooking the vineyards and the ruins of the Wine Press, and less than 300 yards distant from the Abbey. One cannot expect that in such a desolate part of the country there was a name for every hide of land.

If a village had existed at Beaulieu in 1204, and if the abbat of the nearest or any Cistercian monastery to whom an application was made to send a colony to the proposed new foundation had done his duty, no abbey would have

been built there, for he would have cited the regulations of the Order forbidding the building of an abbey near a village.

It was doubtless the absence of habitations in the neighbourhood and the loneliness of the place that rendered it so suitable as a site for an abbey, for these were the features which appealed to the Cistercians, certainly in the earlier days of that Order, their very name being reminiscent of the fact.

“The site which they chose—in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Saône, not far from Dijon—was no happy valley, no ‘green retreat,’ such as the earlier Benedictine founders had been wont to select. It was a dismal swamp overgrown with brushwood, a forlorn, dreary, unhealthy spot, from whose marshy character the new house took its name of ‘The Cistern’ = *Cistellum*, commonly called Cisteaux.”¹

¹ Miss K. Norgate, “Angevin Kings,” vol. I., page 70.



CHAPTER V.

THE CORRUPTION OF THE NAME.

WE have still to account for the transformation of the name Beaulieu into so many shapes, in some of which it is barely recognisable.

When, say in 1246, after the completion of the Abbey, and probably much earlier, a man on his way thither was met on the road by a friend who said to him "Where are you going?" What was probably his reply?

It may, I think, be taken for certain that he did not say "To Bellus Locus Regis." He probably used the name which the Norman French had been accustomed to give to the many abbeys in their own land so called, viz., Beaulieu, which they naturally transferred to places similarly named in England. It is notorious that the spelling of place names and of proper names was careless to the last degree in early times and particularly so in the time of King Henry the Eighth: a fact that is sufficient to account for the many varieties in the spelling of a compound word like Beau Lieu, containing six vowels, which lends itself so readily to variation by the illiterate. Nearly all the early documents in the Public Record Office relating to the Abbey are in mediæval Latin, in which the name is given as Bellus Locus *alias* Bellus Locus Regis *alias* Beaulieu. In the Close Roll, Ed. II. (A.D. 1310), however, there is a letter regarding the loan of victuals addressed, amongst others, to the Abbat of Beau Leieu.

In the following table references to some documents are given, and the exact spelling of the name is stated in each case :—

Date and Nature of Document.	Reference.	Exact Spelling of the Name.
32 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1541). Value of the Manor.	Miscellaneous Books. Augmentation Office. No. 363. Page 6.	Bello Loco Regis and Beaulue.
32 & 33 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1542). Ministers' Ac- counts of the Rectory.	Ministers' Accounts, Co. Southampton, M. 1. Henry VIII., 3,343.	Beaulue and Bellus Locus Regis.
35 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1544). Grant of the Rectory to Sir Thomas Wriothes- ley, Lord Wriothesley, and his heirs.	Patent Roll, 35 Henry VIII., Part 10. M. 21.	Bello Loco <i>alias</i> Bello Loco Regis <i>alias</i> Beau- lieue.
38 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1547). Valuation of the Fee Farm Rents reserved to the Crown.	Particulars for Grants. Augmenta- tion. 38 Henry VIII. File 1,260.	De Bello Loco otherwise Beauley or Beauleu.
38 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1547). Licence to Ld. Wriothes- ley to alienate the Manor.	Patent Roll, 38 Henry VIII., Part II. Mem. 10.	Bello Loco <i>alias</i> Bello Loco Regis <i>alias</i> Beau- lieu.
3 Edward VI. (A.D. 1549). List of Church Goods. 6 Edward VI. (A.D. 1552).	Exch. K. R. Church Goods, Co. South- ampton, No. 2/75. Do. No. 2/78.	Beauley, Beaw- ley. —
5 Charles I. (A.D. 1630). Beeston and Earl of Southampton. Sale of Manor.	Notes of Fines, 5 Charles I., Michaelmas, South- ampton.	Bewley.
12 Charles I. (A.D. 1637). Grant to the Earl of Southampton of exemp- tion of Manor from the jurisdiction of the New Forest.	Patent Roll, 12 Charles I., Part XX. No. 4.	Beaully or Beaulie.

Date and Nature of Document.	Reference.	Exact Spelling of the Name.
Description of Church and Manor (A.D. 1648).	Harleian MSS. No. 892, page 90.	Bello Loco Regis also Bewly.
Sale of a portion of Manor (A.D. 1652).	Feet of Fines. Co. Southampton. Easter 1652. No. 32.	Bewly.
34 & 35 Charles II. (A.D. 1683). Sir Robert Clayton to Ralph Montagu. Sale of the Manor.	Feet of Fines, 34 & 35 Charles II. Hilary, No. 8. Co. Southampton.	Bewly other- wise Beau- lieu.
11 & 12 George II. (A.D. 1739). Fine for the Sale of Rents belonging to the Abbey.	Feet of Fines. Co. of Southampton. Trinity, 11 & 12 George II. No. 512.	Bealiu.
Summons to the Abbat to appear before the King and Council. 1 Richard III. "Ye claim to have a sanctuary."	Harleian MSS. No. 433. P. 133D.	Bewley.

It will be seen that we have at the dates given below the methods of spelling placed opposite to them :—

Bellus Locus Regis, }
 Bellus Locus, and } In 1204 and generally in early
 Beaulieu - - - } days.

Beauleieu - - - 1310.

Beaulue - - - 1541.

Beauliewe - - - 1544.

Beauley or Beauleu - 1547.

Beawley - - - 1549.

Bewley - - - 1630.

Beauly - - - }

Beaulie - - - } 1637.

- - - } 1648.

Bewly - - - } 1652.

- - - } 1683.

Bealiu - - - 1739.

This list does not nearly exhaust the various spellings which I have met with, but it is long enough, or perhaps too long.

It is therefore evident that the name in Norman French was Beau Lieu and that for years no change was made in writing the first of the two words, but that ultimately a great variety of phonetic spellings were introduced.

It is not possible to determine when the Norman French pronunciation of the name was replaced by the English corruption, but when about the middle of the 16th century the "y" appears as the terminal letter, and certainly when "Beau" is replaced by "Beaw" and "Bew," and "lieu" by "ley," one may be confident that the change had taken place.

When Macaulay wrote in "The Armada" the lines :—

"O'er Longleat's towers, o'er Cranbourne's oaks the fiery
herald flew ;
He roused the shepherds of Stonehenge, the rangers
of Beaulieu."

he did so in the exercise of his poetic licence and not because everyone then so pronounced the name.

The ancient spelling again came into use either prior to, or in the year 1762, when Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Hussey, an Irishman who had married Isabella, Duchess Dowager of Manchester, daughter of John Duke of Montagu, and had assumed the name of Hussey-Montagu, was created Lord Beaulieu of Beaulieu, Hants (11th May, 1762). On the 8th July, 1784, he was created Earl Beaulieu. He died 1802. It is quite possible that when Sir Edward Hussey-Montagu was called upon to choose a title he may have thought that "Lord Beaulieu of Beaulieu" was a prettier name than "Lord Bewley of Bewley."



CHAPTER VI.

THE CHOICE OF THE SITE.

TO whom is the credit to be given for finding such a beautiful site? To the Monks or to the Founder, King John? I hope that I do not misrepresent the view of those who live in and near Beaulieu,—a view indeed which appears to me to reflect the opinion generally held throughout the country by the neighbours of each and every monastic ruin—when I state that they have no hesitation in answering the question in favour of the monks.

It is generally put somewhat as follows:—"The monks came from France; they sailed up the river; they landed somewhere about where Beaulieu now stands; they saw that it was a beautiful valley; they discovered a stream of good water, which they always regarded as essential, and they fixed upon Beaulieu as the site of the Abbey which they had set out from France to found in England."

This in Elizabethan days would have been called "a very pretty conceit," and one hardly likes to set to work to demolish it; but, notwithstanding the weight of opinion, I feel bound, in the interests of truth, to state that I can find no evidence to support it.

I believe, on the contrary, that in the case of Beaulieu Abbey, and probably nearly all other monastic foundations in this country, the initiative came from the founder and not from the monks.

It is, no doubt, true that some Abbeys were founded by monkish squatters, but such cases, as regards the Cister-

cians at any rate, must have been very rare in England, or Dugdale has overlooked them.

On referring to the list of Cistercian houses (p. 38) it will be seen that Beaulieu was founded seventy-seven years after the date of the first foundation of the Order in England, and that in A.D. 1204 there were already 52 Cistercian Abbeys, 5 Priories and 14 Nunneries in England, 12 Abbeys and 1 Nunnery in Wales, numerous Abbeys and Nunneries in Scotland, and 2 Abbeys in Ireland. An abbat and twelve monks to each monastery was the usual complement for a foundation, but whilst some had more—Beaulieu, for example, was founded for 30 monks—many had fewer than 12. If we allow eight, an intermediate number, to each, there were at that date probably more than 500 Cistercian monks in England and Wales. They were therefore a numerous body, and we also know that they were a highly-organised community, holding annual general chapters to which the abbats of every house were summoned; in addition it was the duty of the abbat of every Mother Monastery to visit the foundations which had originated from his own Abbey; moreover, the monks as a class were amongst the most learned men of the time, although it is true that the Cistercians take a rather low place so far as learning goes. The statutes of the Order laid down that "the habitation of monks ought to be in their own cloister," which, indeed, they only quitted for some good and urgent reason. It would not be easy to convert such men into monastic wanderers in search of eligible building sites.

Amongst the founders of Cistercian Monasteries were kings and queens, bishops and nobles, knights and landowners. Their motives in so doing were various, some were actuated by a desire to ensure that masses should be said for the repose of their souls, or the souls of their ancestors; others, such as the bishops, by a desire

to increase the influence of the Church, others again acted in fulfilment of a vow made at a time of great bodily peril. The usual procedure was probably somewhat as follows :—The Abbat of the nearest or some other monastery of the Order would be approached ; an offer would be made to endow the monastery with certain lands, practically the only source of wealth in those days ; the abbat would ask whether there was a site which fulfilled the known requirements of the Order ; his consent would be given upon conditions, and a promise would be made that an abbat and 12 monks should be sent to the place offered, when the temporary buildings necessary for housing the colony had been erected.

The founding of Vale Royal in Cheshire in 1273 is an example of action taken in fulfilment of a vow made at a time of great bodily peril. Prince Edward, eldest son of Henry the Third, when upon the point of suffering shipwreck, vowed that if his life were spared he would found an Abbey to the Glory of God.

He carried out his vow, and having succeeded his father as King Edward the First, he laid the first stone of the Abbey of Vale Royal “on the 2nd August A.D. 1277 upon the site of the high altar in the presence of a great concourse of his nobles.”¹

The following account of the founding of Mereval, or *De Mira Valle*, Abbey in Warwickshire is peculiarly to the point, because of the similarity to Beaulieu in the meaning of the name, also in the fact that by the founding of the Abbey a spot of ground which, like Beaulieu, had hitherto been nameless, received a name implying that it was a beautiful valley, and also that the site was selected by the donor and not by the monks :—

“Westwards from Atherton, scarce a mile, stands Miravall, of which there is no particular mention in the

¹ Dugdale’s “Monasticon,” vol. V., p. 701.

Conqueror's Survey, in regard it was involved with Grendon (lying on the other side of the river) whereto it then belonged as an outwood, and therewith became possest by Henry de Feriers, a great man in these parts (as I shall shew anon), whose grandson, Robert Earl Ferrers, having a reverend esteem of the Cistercian monks, which in his time began to multiply in England, made choice of this mountainous and woody desert (as fittest for solitude and devotion), to found therein a monasterie of that order; which was begun accordingly in the XIVth year of K. Stephen's reign; and being propagated with monks from Bordesley Abbey in Worcestershire had, by reason of such its situation, the name of Miravall attributed thereto; the lands wherewith he endowed it being these: viz., all his forest of Arden (*id est*, his outwood in that part of the woodland, which then bore the name of Arden), and also what he had in Whittington, together with the mannour of Overton (now called Orton on the Hill in com. Leic.), as also Herdwike in the Peake of Derbyshire, unto Cranokesdune; with common of pasture in Hertendon and Pillesburie, for sheep and other cattell, as the words of his charter do import."¹

Where, as at Kirksted, "the place of the church," the name preceded the foundation of the abbey, the fact was thought to be so remarkable as to be an example of prophetic insight, and curiously in this case, as at Beaulieu, the foundation was upon a site near which there were previously no dwellings. Kirksted Abbey was founded by Hugh Brito, son of Eudo, Lord of Tateshale in 1139, in honour of the Virgin Mary. The Cottonian manuscript Tiberius C. VIII. represents the site, upon a plain hemmed in with brambles and marshes, to have received its name of "Kirksted"

¹ Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. V., p. 481.

prophetically as the place of a church before an Abbey was constructed there. The first inhabitants of Kirksted were brought from Fountains.

Moreover, one of the earliest documents relating to the Abbey of Beaulieu, dated 16th August 1204, is a letter ¹ from the King, the Founder, to all Cistercian abbats, begging them, in consideration of God and himself, to make an aid for his new Abbey de Bello Loco Regis in the New Forest, "because we have begun it *in the same place*, of your order, to store it with provisions, and that each one of you do for us as our letters signify."

The words "in the same place" are interesting, as if the place had previously possessed a name it would certainly have been so stated.

From the evidence given, which might be multiplied indefinitely, we may, I think, safely conclude that the site of Beaulieu Abbey was selected by King John, and not by the monks.

¹ Brief upon the Close Roll.



CHAPTER VII.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CISTERCIAN ORDER.

THE *Cistercians*, a branch of the Benedictines, were so called from Cistertium, Cisteaux, or Citeaux, in the bishopric of Châlons, near Dijon, in France, where the Order was begun A.D. 1098 by Robert of Champagne, Abbat of Molesme, in that province. The Benedictines were founded by St. Benedict, who lived A.D. 480-543.

The Cistercian Order was brought into repute by Stephen Harding, third Abbat of Cisteaux, an Englishman, born at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, and he is therefore regarded as the principal founder.

They were also called *Bernardines*, from St. Bernard, who was Abbat of Clairvaux or Clareval, in the diocese of Langres, about A.D. 1116, and a great promoter of their Order; and *White Monks*, from the colour of their habit, which was a white cassock with a black scapulary, within the monastery, but a black habit when they went abroad. A scapulary (Lat., *scapula*, "the shoulder") is a long strip of serge or stuff, the centre of which is cut out to pass over the head, one flap hanging down in front, the other upon the back.

The Cistercians separated from the Benedictines on the ground that the latter were not sufficiently strict in their observance of the rule of St. Benedict.

"The essence of the Cistercian reform was a strict observance of the Benedictine rule in its original simplicity and severity, as it was understood by the founders of Citeaux. Their first series of regulations, drawn up pro-

bably about 1101, defines the method of its observance as regards clothing, food, renunciation of property in churches and tithes, and so on—the renunciation of the riches of this world to be practised by these ‘new soldiers’ of Christ, poor with the poor Christ.”¹

These regulations deal also with the employment of *conversi* or lay brethren, and paid labourers for the cultivation of their lands, “because according to the rule the habitation of monks ought to be in their own cloister.” And, emulating the example of St. Benedict, it was determined that their monasteries should be built, not in cities nor in castles nor in villages, but in places remote from the concourse of people, and that twelve monks with an abbat should be sent out to new foundations. It was a rule with the Cistercians not to allow another house, even of their own Order, to be built within a certain distance.

“The second series of regulations appears to have been drawn up by Stephen Harding immediately after he became abbat in 1109. By these they determined that they would not have in the house of God, wherein they desired to serve God devoutly by day and night, anything which savoured of pride or superfluity, or which might ever corrupt the poverty which they had chosen of their own free will, as the custodian of the virtues. So their crosses were not to be of gold or silver, but of painted wood; their single candlestick was to be of iron, and the censers only of copper or iron. Silk was forbidden, except for stoles or fanons; gold and silver were also forbidden, except that the chalice and pipe were to be of silver. We know, too, from other sources that their first buildings were of the utmost simplicity, entirely destitute of any adornment.”²

¹ Bilson, “The Architecture of the Cistercians,” *Archit. Jour.*, 2nd ser., vol. XVI., No. 3, p. 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 190.

But this is not true of their later buildings, as a visit to Netley and other abbeys will prove.

The monasteries of the Cistercians, which became very numerous in a short time, were all dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

When the Cistercians arrived in England in 1128 they settled at Waverley, near Farnham, in Surrey. The number of abbeys of the Order in Europe then exceeded 30. In the list of Cistercian monasteries given on p. 38 it will be seen that an earlier date is attributed to Furness Abbey, 1127. A long-continued dispute for priority of foundation arose between Waverley and Furness; this was finally settled by the recognition of the Abbat of Waverley as head of the Order in England and President of the Grand Chapter. For this reason Waverley is placed first upon the list. In 1152, when the General Chapter ordered that no more new abbeys should be founded, the number had reached the extraordinary total of 339, of which 50 were in England and Wales. Nevertheless, the movement went on, and at the close of the twelfth century the number in Europe had increased to 525.

In the 26th year of King Henry the Eighth, A.D. 1535, there were 75 Cistercian abbeys in England and 26 Cistercian nunneries, and the total revenues of the Cistercian houses amounted to £18,691 12s. 6d.

The following list of the Cistercian monasteries is taken from Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*."¹ They are, however, here arranged as nearly as possible in the order of their foundation, and, where it has been possible to ascertain it, the Mother Abbey from which the abbat and monks came to form the new community is stated. Their exact geographical position will be seen on reference to the map (Plate XXIV., facing p. 42).

¹ Vol. V., p. 219.

Name.	County.	Date of Foundation.	Mother Abbey.
Waverley - -	Surrey - -	A.D. 1128	Ammone, in Normandy.
Furness - -	Lancashire - -	1127	Savigny, Normandy.
Rievall or Rievaulx.	Yorks - -	1131	Clareval or Clairvaux.
Fountains - -	Yorks - -	1132	St. Mary's, York (Benedictine).
Quarr - -	Isle of Wight -	1133	Savigny.
Combermere - -	Cheshire - -	1133	
		1130?	
Garendon - -	Leicestershire -	1133	Waverley.
Swineshead -	Lincolnshire -	1134	
Russin or Ryshen	Isle of Man -	1134	Furness.
Stratford Langthorne.	Essex - -	1134 or 1135	
Calder - -	Cumberland -	1134	
Buldwass - -	Shropshire -	1135	Savigny.
Wardon - -	Bedfordshire -	1135	Rievaulx.
Ford - -	Devonshire -	1136	Waverley.
Buckfastleigh -	Devonshire -	1137	
Newminster -	Northumberland -	1137	Fountains.
Thame - -	Oxfordshire -	1137 or 1138	Removed from Otteley.
Bordesley - -	Worcestershire -	1138	
Louth Park - -	Lincolnshire -	1139	Fountains.
Kirksted - -	Lincolnshire -	1139	Fountains.
Kingwood - -	Wiltshire -	1139	Tyntern.
Pipewell - -	Northamptonshire	1143 or 1141	
Coggeshall - -	Essex - -	1142? 1137? 1140?	
Revesby - -	Lincolnshire -	1142 or 1143	
Byland - -	Yorkshire -	1143	Furness.
Boxley - -	Kent - -	1144	Clairvaux.
Woburn - -	Bedfordshire -	1145	St. Mary at York and Fountains.
Vaudey or de Valle Dei.	Lincolnshire -	1147	Fountains.
Bruerne - -	Oxfordshire -	1147	

Name.	County.	Date of Foundation.	Mother Abbey.
Roche or de Rupibus	Yorkshire -	A.D. 1147	Garendon.
Bitlesden - -	Buckinghamshire	1147	
Sallay or Sawley -	Yorkshire - -	1147 or 1146	
Saltay or Sawtrey -	Huntingdonshire -	1147 or 1146	Wardon.
Kirkstall - - -	Yorkshire - -	1147	Fountains.
Dore - - -	Herefordshire -	Temp. King Stephen.	
Flexley or Dene -	Gloucestershire -	Temp. King Stephen.	
Rufford - - -	Nottinghamshire -	1148	Rievaulx
Sibton - - -	Suffolk - - -	1149	Wardon.
Mereval, de Mira Valle	Warwickshire -	1149	Bordesley.
Combe - - -	Warwickshire -	1149?	Waverley.
Joreval or Jervaux	Yorkshire - -	1150	Byland.
Melsa or Meaux -	Yorkshire - -	1150	? Fountains.
Holm Cultram -	Cumberland -	1150	
Titley - - -	Essex - - -	1152	
Stanley - - -	Wiltshire - -	1161	Quarr.
Stanlaw and {	Cheshire - -	{ 1172	Combermere.
Whalley - - -	Lancashire -		
Bindon - - -	Dorsetshire -	1172	
Crokesden or Croxden.	Staffordshire -	1176	Aulney, Normandy.
Roberts-bridge -	Sussex - - -	1176	
Clyve - - -	Somersetshire -	Before 1188	
Medmenham - -	Buckinghamshire	1200	Woburn.
Dunkeswell - -	Devonshire -	1201	
Beaulieu - - -	Hampshire -	1204	Cisteaux and Faringdon.
Dieulacres - -	Staffordshire -	1214	Combermere.
Hilton or Hulton -	Staffordshire -	1223	Blankland or Combermere.
Netley - - -	Hampshire -	1239	Beaulieu.
Newenham - -	Devonshire -	1241	Beaulieu.
Hayles - - -	Gloucestershire -	1246	Beaulieu.
Vale Royal - -	Cheshire - -	1273	Dore.
Buckland - - -	Devonshire -	1278	Quarr.
Rewly - - -	Oxfordshire -	1280	Thame.
St. Mary Graces or East Minster.	East Smithfield, Middlesex.	1349	Garendon.

PRIORIES.

Name.	County.	Date of Foundation.	—
Keldholm - -	Yorkshire - -	<i>Temp.</i> Henry I.	For nuns.
Greenfield - -	Lincolnshire - -	<i>Ante</i> 1115	For nuns.
Stoneley - -	Warwickshire - -	A.D. 1145	For monks (translated from Rad- more).
Basedale, Hutton or Nunthorp.	Yorkshire - -	1162	For nuns.
Hanepole or Ham- pole.	Yorkshire - -	1170	For nuns.

NUNNERIES.

Name.	County.	Date of Foundation.
Nun Coton or Cotham	Lincolnshire -	<i>Ante</i> 1129.
Stykeswold or Styx- wold.	Lincolnshire -	<i>Temp.</i> King Stephen.
Nun Appleton - -	Yorkshire - -	Late in reign King Stephen.
Wickham - -	Yorkshire - -	<i>Circa</i> 1153.
Sinningthwaite - -	Yorkshire - -	<i>Circa</i> 1160.
Codenham - -	Yorkshire - -	Early in reign Henry II.
Sewardesley - -	Northamptonshire	<i>Temp.</i> Henry II.
Heyninges or Hevenynge.	Lincolnshire -	<i>Circa</i> 1180.
Gokwelle or Goke- welle.	Lincolnshire -	<i>Ante</i> 1185.
Kirklees - -	Yorkshire - -	<i>Temp.</i> King Henry II.
Elreton or Ellerton- upon-Swale.	- - - -	<i>Temp.</i> King Henry II.
Lekeburn or Legborne	Lincolnshire -	<i>Ante</i> King John.
Tarent or Tarrant -	Dorsetshire -	<i>Temp.</i> Richard I.
Brewood - -	Shropshire -	<i>Temp.</i> Richard I. or King John.
Cokehill - -	Worcestershire -	Existing 1198.

Name.	County.	Date of Foundation.
Winteneye - -	Hampshire - -	<i>Ante</i> 1200.
Marham - -	Norfolk - -	1249.
Whiston or Wyte- stane.	Worcestershire -	1255.

CISTERCIAN CELLS.

Horewelle - -	Near Coventry -	Existing 1291, Stoneley.
Bleatarn - -	Westmorland -	? A cell of Byland Abbey.

WALES.

ABBEYS.

Nethe or Neath -	Glamorganshire -	<i>Temp.</i> Henry I., Savigny near Lyons, France.
Basingwerk - -	Flintshire - -	1131 or 1159.
Tintern - -	Monmouthshire -	1131.
Cumhyre - -	Radnorshire -	1143.
Dore - -	Herefordshire -	<i>Temp.</i> King John.
Albalanda or White- land.	Caermarthenshire	1143.
Strata Florida or Stratfleur.	Cardiganshire -	1164 or 1184.
Strat Margel - -	Montgomeryshire	1170.
Margan - -	Glamorganshire -	1147.
Conway - -	Caernarvonshire -	1185 or 1186.
Caerleon - -	Monmouthshire -	<i>Temp.</i> King John.
De Valle Crucis -	Denbighshire -	1200.
Kinner or Kemmer -	Merionethshire -	? 1209.
Grace Dieu -	Monmouthshire -	1226.

NUNNERY.

Llanlulan - -	Montgomeryshire	<i>Ante</i> 1239.
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IRELAND.

ABBEYS.

Name.	County.	Date of Foundation.
St. Mary, Dublin -	Co. Dublin, of the Cistercian Order.	? 948. 1139, Buldewas.
Inys or Iniscourcy -	Co. Downe - -	1180, cell to Furness.

SCOTLAND.

There were numerous Cistercian abbeys and nunneries in Scotland. Of these the most important were Melrose, Machline, Newbattle, Hadington, Cuprum, Dundrennan, Knilfloss, Glenluce (Vallis Lucis), Culross, Deer, Balmerino, The Abbey of the Sweetheart (Dulcis Cordis).

Others of less importance were Abermorenochton, Coldstream, Lamermure, Egles, North Berwick, Elcho, Sandall, and Halywood (Sacrumboscom).





CHAPTER VIII.

THE *CONVERSI*. *FRATRES LAICI*. LAY BROTHERS:

A MONK was a person who had been admitted to a recognised Order and had taken the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. He was not necessarily a priest, although in other Orders after passing through his novitiate he usually became one. The *conversi*, or *fratres laici*, were a class found only in the Cistercian Order; they also had taken the same monastic vows and were therefore monks, but being without education were ineligible for the higher order of monks. They were not necessarily persons of lower social position, but they had accepted an inferior position in the community owing to their desire to live the monastic life. Some of them lived and worked on the granges or farms of the abbey under obedientiaries or foremen, whom they chose from their own class; others were skilled labourers, *e.g.*, masons and carpenters, engaged upon the construction or maintenance of the buildings of the abbey under the superintendence of the monks; others again were occupied with the domestic work of the monastery.

“During the period between 1130–1360 the *conversi* were a very numerous body in some of the larger monasteries. At Clairvaux, for example, there were at one time probably nearly 450 *conversi*; at Waverley at the end of the twelfth century there were 120 *conversi*; and at Louth Park during the second quarter of the thirteenth century, (A.D. 1225–1250,) there were 150 *conversi*. There is no record of their number at Beaulieu, but the extent of the

buildings which they occupied suggests that it was considerable."

The western end of the nave was the part of the church allotted to their use. At Clairvaux their stalls were placed in three rows on each side of the nave. Those of the *conversi* who were resident in the abbey, and some of them were invariably there, attended certain of the services at the same time as the monks, when they recited prayers and psalms which, being unable to read, they had committed to memory.

There were three entrances to the church used by the lay brothers, the west door and the doorway into the south aisle from the lane (Plate XVII.) were for day use. At night access was obtained by a straight flight of steps which led from their dormitory into the west end of the church, so that they had no necessity to go out of doors to attend a service. The part of this flight of steps nearest to the church was destroyed when the northern end of the *Domus conversorum* was rebuilt after the Abbey was pulled down, but some portion of it within the *Domus* remains.

The almost complete separation of the monastic buildings used by the monks of the higher order and the *conversi* shows that the intercourse between the two classes must have been very limited and was probably confined to their official relations.

At Beaulieu the separation is not quite complete, as in the west wall of the cloister, near the north end, there was an iron gate, or a door, leading from the cloister into the lane.

"After the middle of the fourteenth century (A.D. 1350) the *conversi* in this country seem as a class to have died out and to have been replaced by hired servants and labourers, probably because the general spread of education and other causes had extinguished the

class from which they had formerly been drawn. Meaux is one of the few English abbeys where they are known to have been continued, but their number is not recorded, and in the time of Abbat William of Scarborough (1372-1396) they all struck work and were superseded by monks." ¹

This is, so far as I am aware, the earliest record of a strike amongst persons engaged in a common occupation. One would hardly have expected to find that the strike movement originated in a monastery !

¹ Hope and Brakspear, *op. cit.*, p. 165.



CHAPTER IX.

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF KING JOHN AND
KING HENRY III.

THAT King John took a personal interest in the building of the abbey is proved by his visits during its construction, and by his numerous benefactions, a list of which, with the circumstances attending each of them, so far as is known, is appended. For the dates of his and of other Royal visits reference may be made to Chapter XIV. A visit to such a remote place would have meant much to most monarchs, but for King John, who was the "Reisende Kaiser" of his day, it was nothing, as he is known by his Itinerary to have frequently travelled on horseback 30 and 40 miles, and on one occasion 50 miles, in a single day, and to have slept at 150 different places in the course of a single year.

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF KING JOHN.

25 January, A.D. 1204-5.

Grant of the site of the abbey and the lands, as set forth in the charter of foundation, including the manor of Faringdon, previously (2 November, A.D. 1203) given to the monastery of Citeaux, to build an abbey at Faringdon.

23 October, A.D. 1204.

Order from the King to the treasurer to deliver to the abbat 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) "for building our abbey."

Close Roll. 6 John (1204). Mem. 20, Sec. 221.

The King, &c. To the Sheriff of Oxford greeting. We command you that without delay you cause the Abbat of Beaulieu to have full seisin of the land of Selfton which we had given to John de Pratell, which belongs to the Manor of Farendon. Witness ourself at Windsor, the 28th day of July.

The King to William de Nevill greeting. We command you that you cause the Abbat of Beaulieu of the New Forest to have a golden cup (chalice) which we committed to you for safe keeping. Witness ourself at Windsor, the 28th day of July.

Close Roll. 6 John (1204). Mem. 17, Sec. 180.

The King, &c., to William of Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton, and his associates, &c. We command you that immediately on the sight of these letters you should cause the Abbat of Beaulieu to have 23 marks and 10 pence, &c. (£15 7s. 6d.) for building our abbey. Witness G., son of Peter, &c., at Ludgershall, the 12th day of September.

Close Roll. 6 John (1204). Mem. 13, Sec. 139.

The King, &c., to W., Treasurer, &c. Deliver from our treasury to the Abbat of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, 100 marks towards the building of our abbey, at the terms which the Lord of Norwich and G., son of Peter, and P. de Rupibus shall tell you. Witness ourself at Brill, the 23rd day of October.

Close Roll. 6 John (1204), Account. Mem. 5, Sec. 26.

The King to the Barons, &c. Account to William de Cornhill, our clerk in the issues of the Bishoprick of Winchester for 250 marks, which he paid to the Monks

of the Cistercian Order of Beaulieu under the will of G., formerly Bishop of Winchester, in the 6th year, &c. Witness ourself at Sutton, the 6th day of April.

8 *John* (1206). *Mem.* 5.

The King to the keepers of his wines at Southampton, &c. We command you that you cause the cellarer of Beaulieu to have one cask of the better sort of wine for celebrating masses and it shall be accounted to you. Witness ourself at Ashton, the 20th day of January.

Close Roll. 9 *John* (1207). *Mem.* 9.

The King to W., the Treasurer, and G. and R., Chamberlains, &c. Pay from our treasury to the Lord Bishop of Winchester 500 marks for the building of the church of the Monks of Beaulieu. Witness myself at Lambeth, the 22nd day of January, in the 9th year of our reign.

By the King himself.

Close Roll. 15 *John* (1213). *Part II., Mem.* 9.

The King to W., the Treasurer, and G. and R., Chamberlains, &c. Pay from our treasury to the keepers of our work of Beaulieu 400 marks before the time of the Feast of Michaelmas, in the 15th year of our reign, and 500 marks between the same Feast of St. Michael and Easter next following in the same year, for our work at Beaulieu. And so hasten the first payment of 400 marks lest that work should be discontinued for want of money. Witness ourself at Bishop Stoke, the 30th day of June.

By Lord P. Bishop of Winchester.

Close Roll. 16 *John* (1214). *Part II., Mem.* 10.

The King to Master R. of Marreyo (Mar?), his Chancellor. We command you that without delay you

cause the Monks of Beaulieu, bearers of these presents, to have as we have ordered elsewhere for the work of their abbey. Witness the King at Winchester, 29th day of January, in the 16th year of our reign.

Same Roll. Mem. 5.

The King to W., the Treasurer, and G. and R., Chamberlains, &c. Pay to the Monks of Beaulieu 50 marks for the repair of their church. Also pay to the Monks of Beaulieu £15 for the repair of their church (*ad reparationem, i.e., the building*). Witness ourself at Oxford, 9th day of April.

By the Chancellor.

Close Roll. 16 John (1214). Part III., Mem. 2.

Delivery. P., &c. to his beloved W., Treasurer of the Lord the King, and G. and R., Chamberlains, greeting. Deliver to brother Aszo £100 from the treasury of our Lord the King for the work of the King's Beaulieu. Witness ourself at King's Beaulieu, the 4th day of September.

Close Roll. 16 John (1214). Part II., Mem. 18.

The King to the Treasurer and G. and P., Chamberlains, greeting. Deliver to Anastasius, Prior of Beaulieu, one hundred pounds for the work of the Church of Beaulieu by the same Bishop, Lord P., Bishop of Winchester. Witness the Lord Bishop of Winchester, the 4th day of November, in the 16th year of our reign.

Close Roll. 17 John (1215). Part I., Mem. 24.

The King to the keepers of his wines at Southampton greeting. We command you that you cause our beloved Abbat of King's Beaulieu to have one cask of wine of our wines to celebrate mass. Witness ourself at Clarendon, 14th day August.

The total contributions of King John in money amounted to £1,463 14s. 2d., equal to £14,637 1s. 8d.

THE BENEFACTIONS OF KING HENRY III.

Close Roll. 3 Henry 3 (1219). *Part II., Mem.* 13d.

The King to the Sheriff of Southampton greeting. We command you that, associating with yourself the knights and free tenants of your county—men, that is to say, faithful and discreet—you cause a perambulation to be made of that land which the Abbat and Monks of Beaulieu pray of us in increase of their land, and in that perambulation you cause the metes and bounds to be set out by certain places and certain boundaries, and cause to be estimated by the said knights and free tenants what number of acres that land so perambulated contains, and make known to our Council under your seal and the seals of those by whom that perambulation shall have been made, that perambulation according to certain metes and bounds and the certain number of acres as is aforesaid, and the name of the place of that land. Witness the Earl at the Tower of London, the 10th day of December.

By the Lord of Winchester.

21 January, A.D. 1221.

Grant by the King of £10 yearly due from the bailiwick of Henry of Lyndhurst to John of Monmouth, which sum was to be paid over every year, while the King pleased, to the work of the church of Beaulieu.

Close Roll. 5 Henry 3 (1221). *Part I., Mem.* 20.

Of payment. The King to E. Treasurer, and F. and R., of the Chamberlains, greeting. Pay from our treasury to the Abbat of Beaulieu 50 marks of our gift for the work of the church of Beaulieu. Witness H, de Burgh,

our Justiciar at Westminster, the 23rd day of November.
By the same and the Bishop of Winchester.

5 *Henry III.* (1221). *Part I., Mem. 2.*

Of acquittance of hidage. The King to the Sheriff of Berkshire greeting. From the tenor of the Charter of Lord John the King our father which the Prior and Monks of Beaulieu have, we have understood that they ought to be quit of hidage which you require from them. And so we command you that you may set them free from the demand of that hidage. Witness H., &c., at Westminster, the 1st day of October, in the 5th year of our reign.

Close Roll. 5 *Henry 3* (1221). *Part I. Mem. 10.*

The King to the Abbat of Kirkstall greeting. We command you that of the farm which you owe to us of Colingeham and Bredeshal of the term of St. Michael last past, to wit, the 4th year of our reign, you may cause our beloved in Christ, the Abbat of Beaulieu, to have 17 marks and a half which remain to us still of the same term for the work of his church of Beaulieu, which we have given to him, and it will be accounted to you at the Exchequer. Witness H., &c. as above, in the year of our reign the 5th. By the same Justiciar.

Close Roll. 7 *Henry 3* (1223). *Part I., Mem. 27.*

Payment. The King to his Barons of Exchequer greeting. . . . Account also to the same Abbat of Kirkstall in the farm of the aforesaid villis Collingham and Bardis of £90 of the 6th year of our reign which he (the Abbat of Kirkstall) delivered by our command to the Abbat of Beaulieu for the new work of his church at Beaulieu. Witness H., &c. at Westminster,

the 14th day of November, in the 7th year. By the same.

Close Roll. 9 Henry 3 (1225). Part II., Mem. 14.

Account. The King to the Barons of the Exchequer greeting Allow to John of Monmouth £10 assigned yearly to the Abbat and Monks of King's Beaulieu for the work of their church as long as it shall please us of the farm of Henry de Lindhurst, which by our command he delivered to the same abbat in the 7th and 8th years of our reign. Witness the King at Westminster, the 7th day of May, in the 9th year.

Close Roll. 9 Henry 3 (1225). Part II., Mem. 3.

For the Abbat of Beaulieu.

It is commanded to the Sheriff of York that he permit the Abbat of Beaulieu to have the rent which the Abbat of Kirkstall renders to the aforesaid abbat by command of the Lord the King of the demesnes of the Lord the King, which are in the hands of the same Abbat of Kirkstall, and which rent the lord the King granted to the aforesaid Abbat of Beaulieu to be received of the same Abbat of Kirkstall for the work of his church as long as it shall please the lord the King. Witness the King at Alton, the 5th day of October, in the 9th year. Before the Justiciar.

Close Roll. 10 Henry 3 (1226). Part I., Mem. 29.

For the Abbat of Beaulieu.

The King to John of Monmouth greeting. We command you that you cause the Abbat and Monks of King's Beaulieu to have £10 of the farm of Henry of Lindhurst of the 9th year, &c., which we have granted to them for the work of their church as long as it shall please us, and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer.

Witness E. Bishop of London at Westminster, the 15th day of November, in the year, &c. the 10th.

Close Roll. 10 Henry 3 (1226). *Part I., Mem.* 26.

For the Abbat of King's Beaulieu.

The King to the Abbat of Kirkstall greeting. We command you, as we have commanded others, by our letters patent to the end that you cause the Abbat of King's Beaulieu to have yearly £90, which you owe to us, for the work of his church until we shall have commanded otherwise therein. Witness the King at Clarendon, 29th day of December, in the 10th year of our reign.

And it is commanded to the Sheriff of York that he should permit this to be done without hindrance.

Witness as above.

Close Roll. 10 Henry 3 (1226). *Part I., Mem.* 4. 1226.

For the Abbat of King's Beaulieu.

It is commanded to the Abbat of Kirkstall that he should cause the Abbat and Monks of King's Beaulieu to have £90 which he owes the Lord the King yearly in this present year for the work of their church of the gift of the Lord the King, that is to say, £45 at the Feast of St. Michael's in the 10th year, &c., and £45 at Easter next following, to wit, in the 11th year. Witness the King at Wallingford, 18th day of September, in the 10th year, &c., aforesaid.

Close Roll. 10 Henry 3 (1226). *Part I., Mem.* 3. 1226.

For the Abbat and Monks of Beaulieu.

The King to his beloved and faithful John of Monmouth greeting. We command you that you cause the Abbat and Monks of Beaulieu to have £10 of the farm of Henry of Lindhurst for the 10th year of our reign, which we have granted to them, for the work of their church as long as

it shall please us, and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer. Witness the King at Westminster, 8th day of October, in the same year. Before the Justiciar.

Contra breve.

11 *Henry 3 (1227). Part I., Mem. 5.*

For the Abbat of King's Beaulieu.

It is commanded to the Abbat of Kirkstall that he should cause to have in the next year to the Abbat of King's Beaulieu for the work of his church £90, which he owes yearly to the Lord the King, that is to say, £45 at the Feast of St. Michael in the 11th year, and £45 at Easter next following in the 12th year, &c. Witness the King at Newport, 8th day of August.

And it is commanded to the Sheriff of York that he permit the aforesaid Abbat of Beaulieu to receive the aforesaid money as is aforesaid. Witness as above.

Close Rolls. 16 Henry 3 (1232). Mem. 2.

Writ to John de Mansue that he cause the Abbat of Bello Campo (*sic*) to have ten beams for rafters in the New Forest of the Lord the King for the work of his church of the King's gift.

Close Rolls. 17 Henry 3 (1233). Mem. 9.

Writ to Peter de Revale that he cause the Abbat of Beaulieu to have 20 oaks in the Forest of Savernake and 20 oaks in the Forest of Bere for the work of his church of the King's gift.

Close Roll. 19 Henry III. Mem. 14.

11th April, 1235.—Writ to the Sheriff of Southampton to assign five carucates of land in the plain between the chapel of St. Leonard and the vill of Baddesleigh next the coast of the sea, which the King has granted to the Abbat of Beaulieu.

Peter de Rupibus.

Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, whose name often appears in these extracts from the Close Rolls, was the founder of numerous churches. On his manor of Hailes, which John had granted him for that purpose on the 16th October 1214, he erected a Premonstratensian Abbey, which was nearly finished on 5th June, 1223. In 1221 he founded at Winchester a house of Dominican Friars.

His other foundations were the Premonstratensian Abbey of Titchfield in Hampshire, the seat of the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton, the Austin priory of Selborne, in the same county, in 1233, and a hospital of St. John the Baptist at Portsmouth some time in John's reign. He intended to found two Cistercian Abbeys, and left money and instructions in his will for that purpose. They are said by Leland and Godwin to have been founded by his executors in 1239; one was Netley Abbey, which was also called "*Locus Sancti Edwardi*," and the other was at Clarté Dieu, in France. By most authorities, however, King Henry III. is regarded as the Founder of Netley Abbey. He left 50 marks to the house of St. Thomas of Acre.

Peter de Rupibus (or des Roches) was a typical secular bishop. By turns he was warrior, military engineer, builder, financial agent, statesman, and diplomatist, and his life almost began and ended amid the clash of arms. Never sparing in magnificence when the occasion demanded it, he was an admirable manager, and left his bishoprick in an excellent condition. The monks of St. Swithin's, Winchester, like the people and barons of England, found him a hard master. During the long struggle of King John with Innocent III., Peter throughout stood by the King, and though his lands,

like those of the other bishops, were seized by way of retaliation for the papal interdict, John ordered them to be restored on 5th April, 1208. He died on 9th June, 1238, at Farnham. His heart was buried at Waverley; his body in a modest tomb he had chosen for himself at Winchester.

(Dictionary of National Biography.)

COMPLETION OF THE PRESBYTERY.

14 August, A.D. 1227.

"The monks of Beaulieu entered into their new church with great joy on the Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary."

(Probably only the Presbytery is meant.)

(Annals of Waverley Abbey.)

COMPLETION OF THE ABBEY CHURCH.

17 June, A.D. 1246 (15 kal. Julii).

Dedication of the Abbey by William, Bishop of Winchester. There were also present King Henry III., the Queen and their children, the Bishops of Bath, Exeter, and Chichester, and many nobles.

(This date marks the completion of the abbey, *i.e.*, the Church.)

(Annals of Waverley Abbey.)



CHAPTER X.

THE CISTERCIANS IN RELATION TO ARCHITECTURE.¹

THE Abbey, as we have seen, was begun in A.D. 1204, and was probably not finished until 1246, 42 years later—a very long period for the completion of any building. But the Cistercians took their time, for we are told that the new church of Waverley, which was a very poor house, was 28 years in building so far as to enable the monks to enter their quire, though 47 years more elapsed before the whole was finished. As a rule, most of the work was directed by the monks and done by the lay brethren (*conversi*), but when it was necessary they employed secular labour, although they preferred, if possible, to avoid so doing. Experienced monks were occasionally lent from older foundations to direct the building of new foundations, thus we know that Geoffrey of Ainai,² an old monk of Clairvaux, was sent by St. Bernard to Fountains to instruct the brethren in the first principles of the rule, and their earliest buildings were erected according to his counsel. When a new foundation was approved and the monks, with the abbat at their head, proceeded to the place, it was a condition of the Order that temporary buildings in which they could live until the permanent structures were completed, or at least habitable, should have been previously erected by the founder.

¹ For the contents of this chapter the writer is specially indebted to the paper by Mr. John Bilson, F.S.A., vide *The Archæological Journal*, vol. LXVI., No. 263.

² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

The building of an abbey was invariably commenced at the east end and extended towards the west; the object being that the most important part of the church, in which the high altar was situated, should be available for service as soon as possible.

The extreme asceticism of the Cistercians in the early days of the Order was reflected in the churches which were erected during that period. "The design was forcible and direct, remarkably pure, and although severe it was admirably expressive of the needs which inspired it. The construction was well thought out and generally executed with great care."¹ But by the time that Beaulieu Abbey was planned some relaxation of their rigid rule of simplicity of detail and absence of all ornament had taken place, as will be obvious on a visit to Netley, which was founded from Beaulieu in 1239, that is, seven years before Beaulieu Abbey was completed.

This change in favour of a somewhat more ornate style began, however, at a much earlier date, as is shown by a comparison of the plan of the first permanent church of Waverley, built not long after its foundation in 1128, with that of Clairvaux, rebuilt in 1133, which is almost exactly similar in plan to Beaulieu. The enormous difference in the size of the two buildings—Waverley was only 130 feet in length, whereas Clairvaux was 410 feet—would by itself require some increase in ornamentation. "In the main arcades of Fountains and Kirkstall we see how the English love of mouldings overcame Cistercian austerity; although the absolute rejection of all ornament weakened gradually as time went on, it was always sober and restrained."¹ We cannot, therefore, I think, be wrong in concluding that Beaulieu Abbey, the larger church of a richer though

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

somewhat older foundation, was at least equal in beauty to that of its daughter at Netley.

All the earlier Cistercian churches had rectangular ends, whereas at Clairvaux, as at Beaulieu, the presbytery terminated in an apse, with an aisle continued round it and with radiating chapels beyond.

What is now regarded as the normal ground plan of a Cistercian church was not evolved until the period between 1130 and 1139. Such a plan shows a cruciform church, with a presbytery or sanctuary for the high altar to the east of the crossing, *i.e.*, to the east of the point of the intersection of the arms of the cross: westward of the crossing, a long nave, of which the eastern part formed a choir for the monks and novices and the western part a choir for the *conversi* or lay brothers. Chapels were placed on the east side of each arm of the transept, and at Beaulieu there were radiating chapels opening on to the aisle around the presbytery. When the east end of the church was rectangular the chapels around the presbytery were against the north and east walls. On each side of the nave there were aisles. The nave ended towards the west in a "galilee," or porch, and at Beaulieu there was a somewhat similar construction at the end of the north transept. From the south transept access was obtained to the vestry and to the monks' dormitory.

Neither the Cistercians nor any other monastic order "introduced or developed any new or peculiar or distinctive *style* of architecture independent of that of the country in which their churches were built."¹ "The churches of the Cistercians, especially those built during the third quarter of the 12th century"—Beaulieu, it must be remembered, belongs to the first decade of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

13th century—"it is true approach more nearly to a distinctive architectural manner," which is not, however, the same thing as an architectural *style*. "A great number of them show such a strong family likeness—similarity of their plan and of their principal arrangements, a puritan simplicity strictly enjoined by the regulations of the Order, a budding Gothic style applied in a particular manner—that it is very easy to class them apart and to distinguish them from all other churches of the country in which they were built." Nevertheless their style was not special to the Cistercian order, but sprang entirely from ancient monastic tradition and from the architectural school of Burgundy.¹

What the Cistercians did for architecture in England was, as Mr. Bilson clearly shows, to introduce the systematic use of the pointed Gothic arch and the ribbed vault over a continuous series of oblong bays.

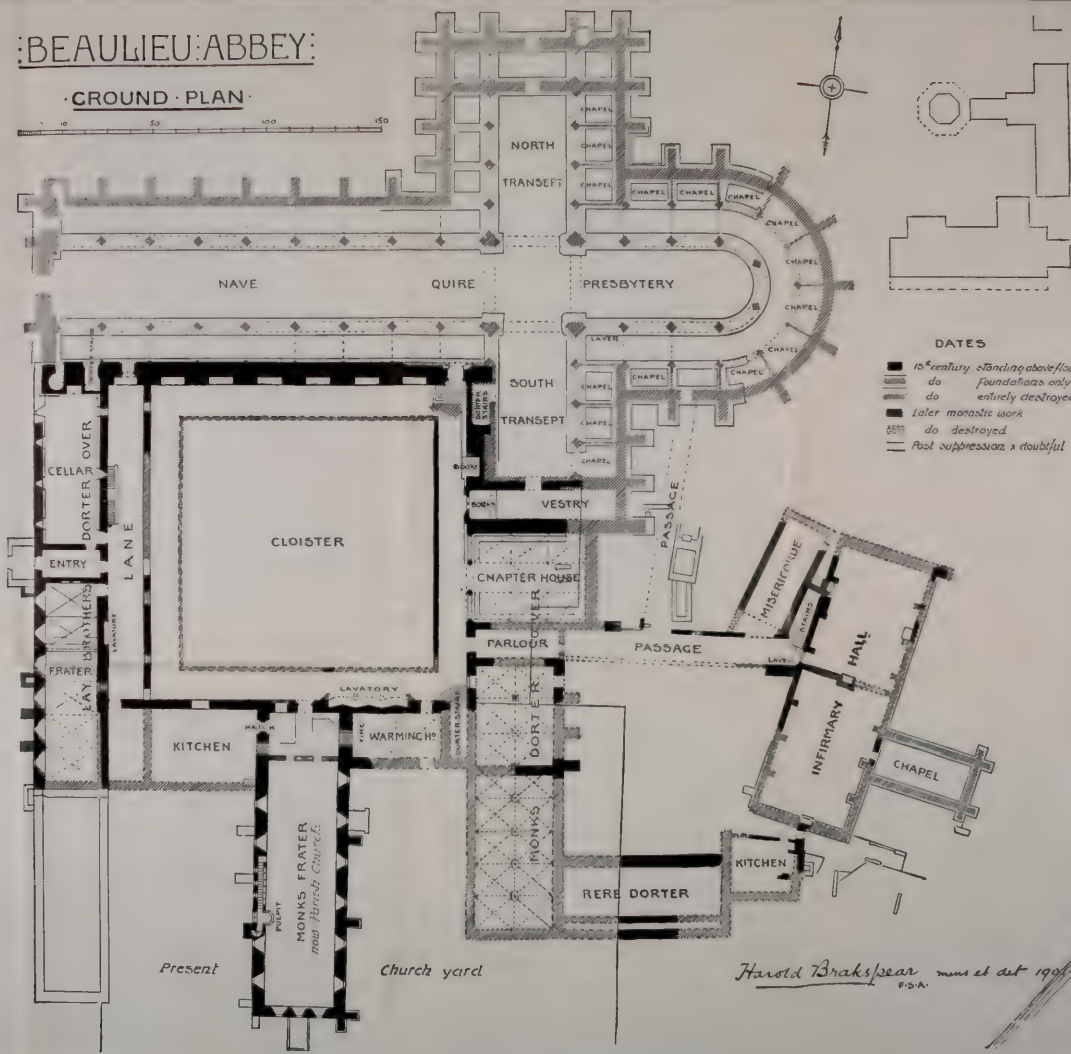
¹ C. Enlart, *Origines françaises de l'architecture gothique en Italie*, 224. Quoted by Bilson, p. 188.





BEAULIEU ABBEY

GROUND PLAN



DATES

- 10th century standing above floor levels
- do foundations only
- do entirely destroyed
- later monastic work
- do destroyed
- Post suppression & doubtful

Present

Church yard

Harold Brakspear mss et al 1901-2
P.S.A.



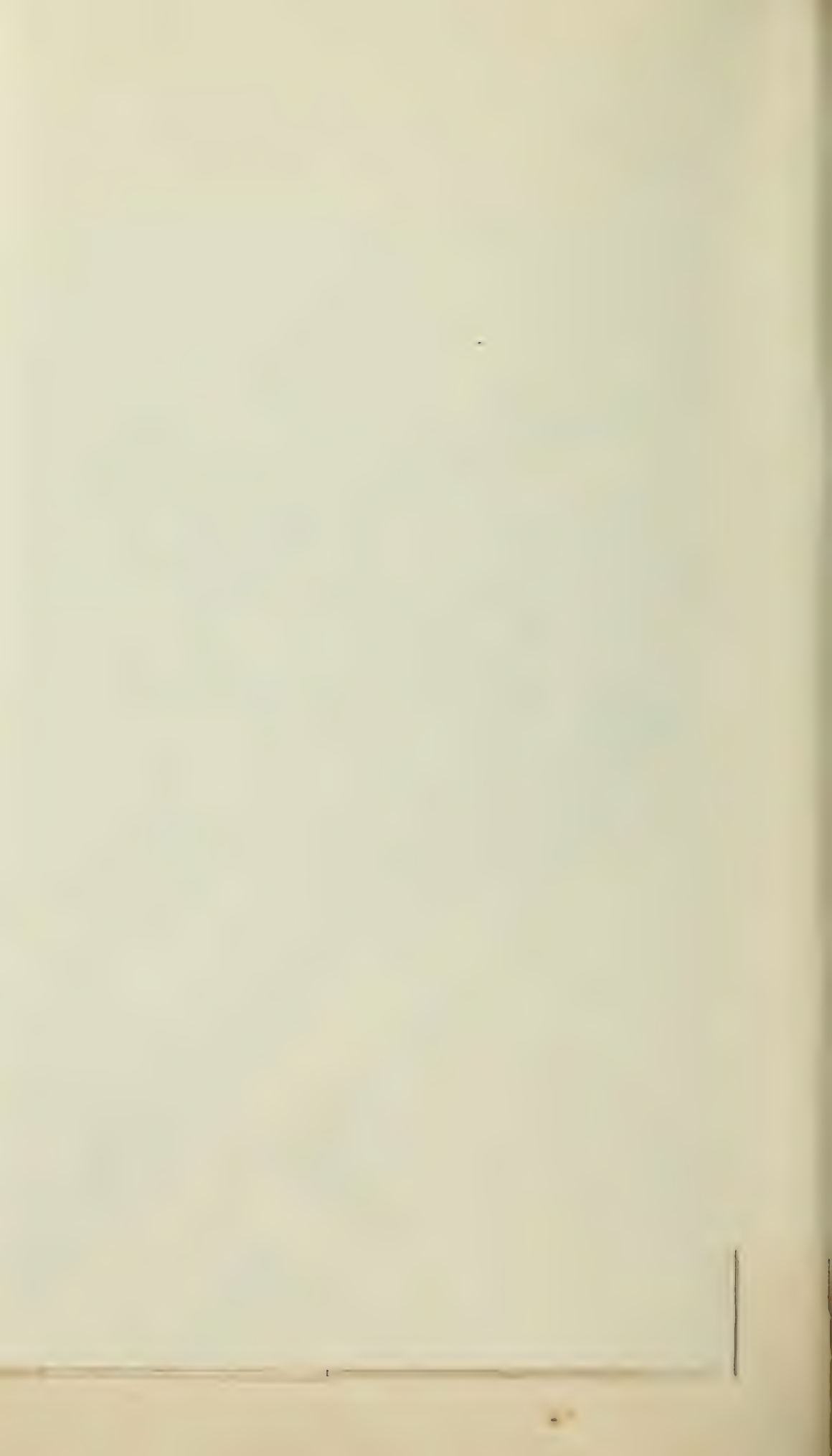
ABBAY:

PLAN.





A CONJECTURAL REPRODUCTION OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE ABBEY.



CHAPTER XI.

THE BUILDINGS OF THE ABBEY.¹

THE reader who wishes with the least amount of trouble to understand the general arrangement of the buildings will do well to refer frequently to the historical ground plan and the conjectural reconstruction of the Abbey. The long axis of the Abbey church, as in every Christian church which was built for a church, runs east and west, or very nearly so. The present parish church of Beaulieu was, it should be remembered, not built for a church, but as a dining hall for the monks; therefore it is not "orientated" but has its long axis north and south. It appears to be considered essential that in every case a ground plan to be used in the illustration of letterpress shall be so drawn that the north side of the buildings outlined shall abut upon the top of the page, the result being that, if the two do not happen to coincide, the book has to be turned each time the plan is consulted, and the reader is unable to place himself in any position on the site where he can view the building, consult the plan, and refer to the description without changing his place or that of the book. This might be avoided by the simple expedient of adapting the plan to the letterpress, but as it was impossible, owing to the greater height of the church, to give a view of the whole of the buildings of the

¹ In the description of the buildings contained in these chapters the paper by Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. Harold Brakspear has been closely followed. *Arch. Jour.*, vol. LXIII., No. 231, pp. 129 and 186.

Abbey except from a point to the south-west, this intention could not be carried out.

It is hopeless for anyone who is not acquainted with the points of the compass in relation to the locality to attempt to understand a description of a series of monastic buildings, as without the constant use of the words north, south, east, and west no description can be made intelligible. These words, although in daily use by every child in Scotland, are in England unfortunately rarely employed, the natural result being that comparatively few Englishmen are sufficiently familiar with the bearings of the compass at a given spot to be able to use them in description.

THE PRECINCT.

“*Stabula equorum intra Abbatiarum ambitum collocentur, nec extra portam monasterii, aliqua domus ad habitandum constructur, nisi animalium tantum, propter cavenda pericula animarum. Si quæ fuerint, cadant; omnes autem portæ Abbatiarum sint extra terminos.*”

Cistercian Statutes, chap. 1.

“The stables of the horses must be placed within the circuit of our Abbeys, neither may any house for habitation be built without the gate of a monastery, unless for animals, on account of avoiding the dangers of souls. If there be any, let them fall; moreover let all the gates of Abbeys be without the bounds.”

The above extract from the Cistercian statutes gives the reason for the existence of the precinct wall at Beaulieu; the land which it enclosed, about 58 acres in extent, was termed the Precinct of the Abbey. The wall was of rubble, $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet thick, about 10 feet in height, and covered by a gabled coping of small stones.

The plan of the precinct shews its limits, and the position of the various buildings which it contained. Where the precinct wall is still standing the black line will be seen to be continuous; where it is interrupted the wall has been destroyed (Plate XXV.).



THE OUTER GATEHOUSE.



THE OUTER GATEHOUSE.

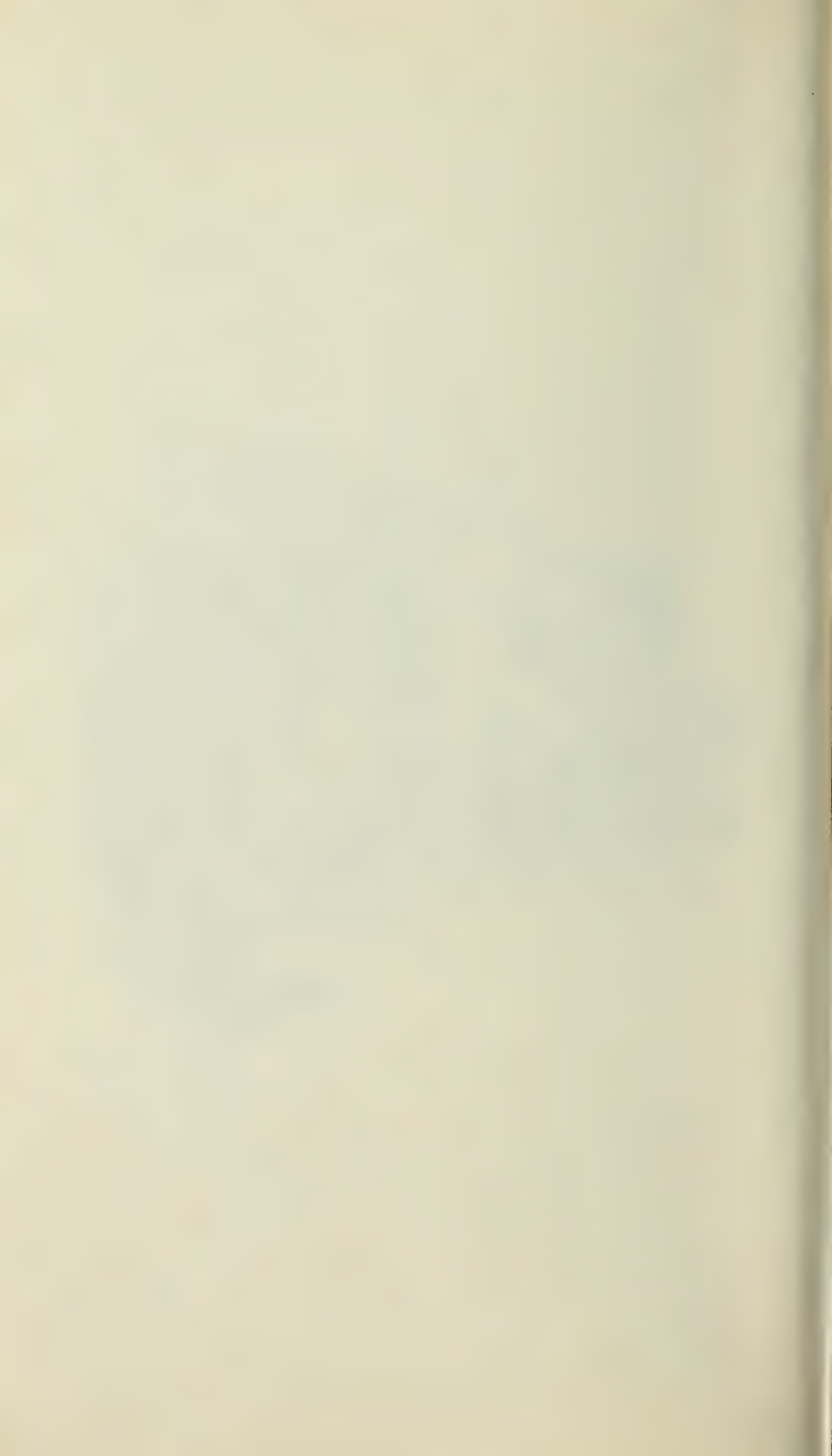
All the engravings are from drawings made by Mr. Ferdinand Fissi to carry out the suggestions of the Author.



PALACE HOUSE.

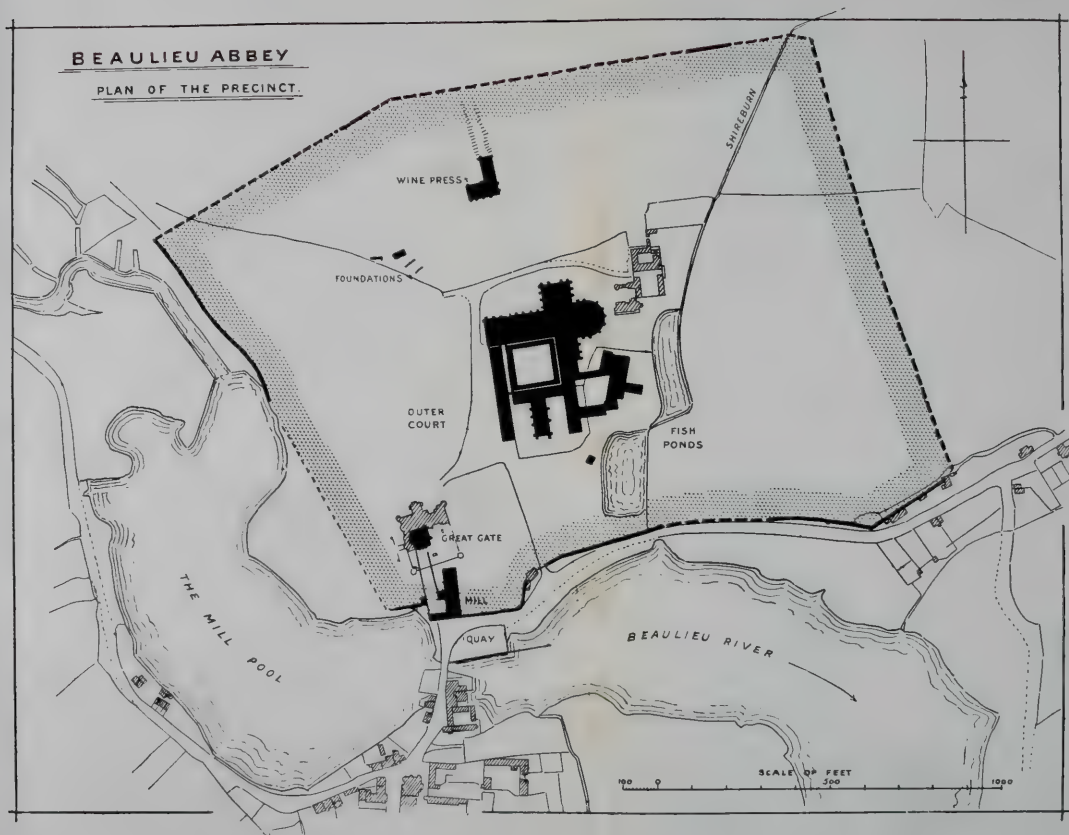


THE GREAT GATEHOUSE (PALACE HOUSE).



BEAULIEU ABBEY

PLAN OF THE PRECINCT.



THE OUTER GATEHOUSE.

This building, which is slightly later in date (*i.e.*, late 13th century) than the original work of the Abbey, is believed to have formed the only entrance to the precinct. It is the only building of the kind of the thirteenth century now existing in this country. Plate I. shows the appearance it presented in ancient days. A strong door filled in the arch, and was opened and closed by the porter, whose lodge was on the east side of the arch. The room now existing on the west side and the clock tower are modern, as is the roof towards the east; but the gable with its three small lancet windows is old. Through the outer gatehouse admission was obtained to a lane, at the end of which was the Great Gate House. On the east side of the lane was the mill, worked by water-power and used for grinding corn and sawing timber; also a large barn and a porch.

THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.

For many years much difference of opinion existed as to the use during monastic times of this building. Some held that it was the Abbat's lodging; for example, in an old paper I find the following: "The Abbat's castellated house lies a considerable distance S.W. of the Abbey." Now, however, there is no longer any doubt that it was the Inner or Great Gatehouse of the Abbey. Plate II. shows the structure as it appeared during the period of the existence of the Abbey.

A window has since been inserted in the centre arch; above the arch was a canopied niche which probably contained an image of the Virgin and Child. In this niche, which is an exact reproduction of the original, a statuette in bronze of the Madonna and Child has recently (1910) been placed. There has long been a

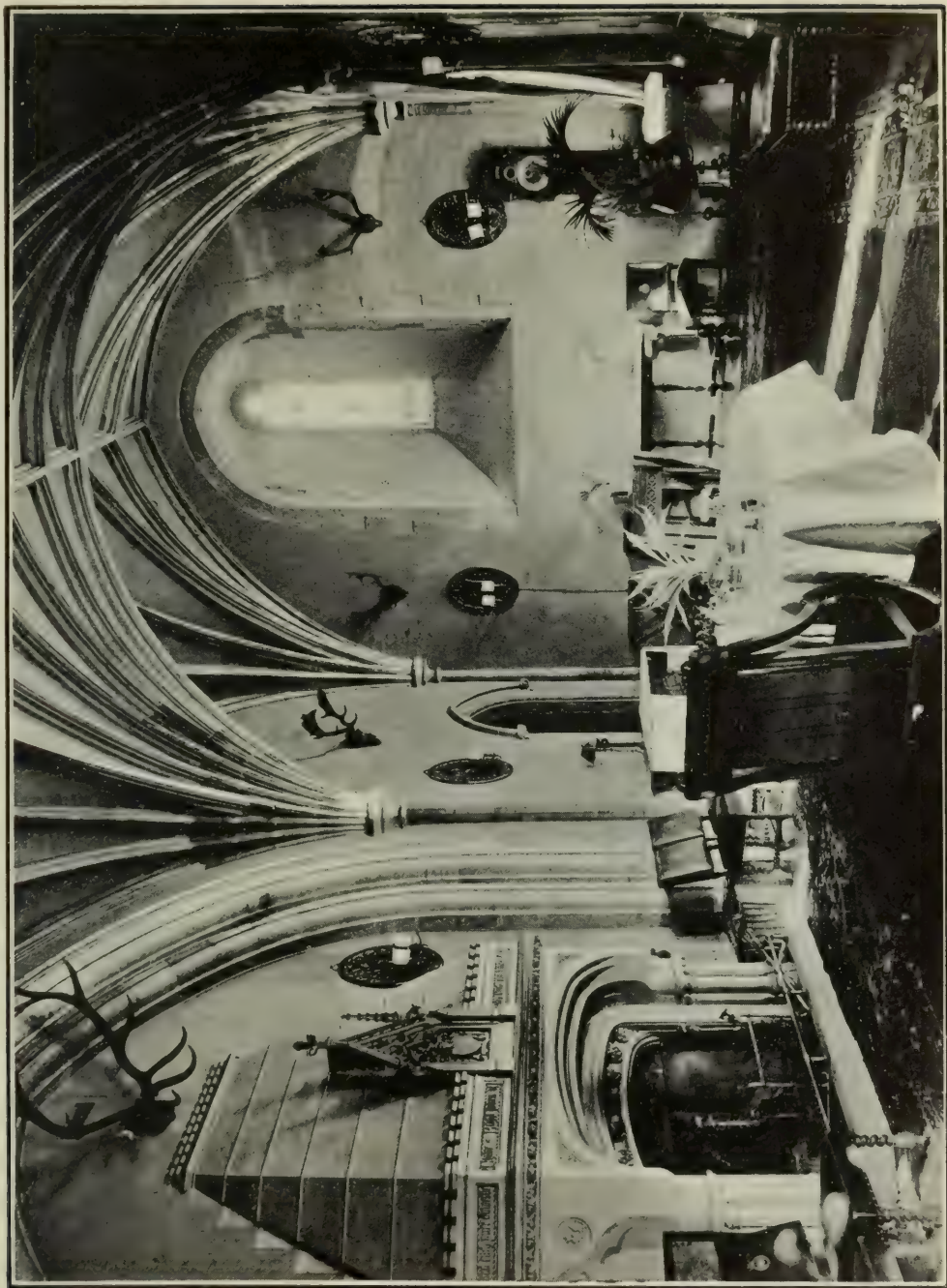
tradition at Beaulieu, for how long is not known, that a large golden image of the Virgin was thrown by the monks into Sowley Lake, to save it from the grasping hands of the King's Commissioners. This belief found frequent expression in July, 1907, when the lake was being gradually emptied, and dragged to catch the coarse fish it contained, in order to replace them by trout ; but it is not a matter for surprise that nothing of the kind was discovered. Large images have, no doubt, been cast in gold, although but rarely ; if such an one ever existed at Beaulieu it was probably placed above the high altar : a tradition of this kind is, however, almost invariably met with in places where monastic buildings have been alienated from the church. Above the niche the wall is finished by a corbel table formed of human and grotesque heads, which is continued on the east and west sides. The gables are later than the 16th century. (Plate II.)

East and west of the main arch of entrance were doorways for foot-passengers ; these have also been replaced by windows.

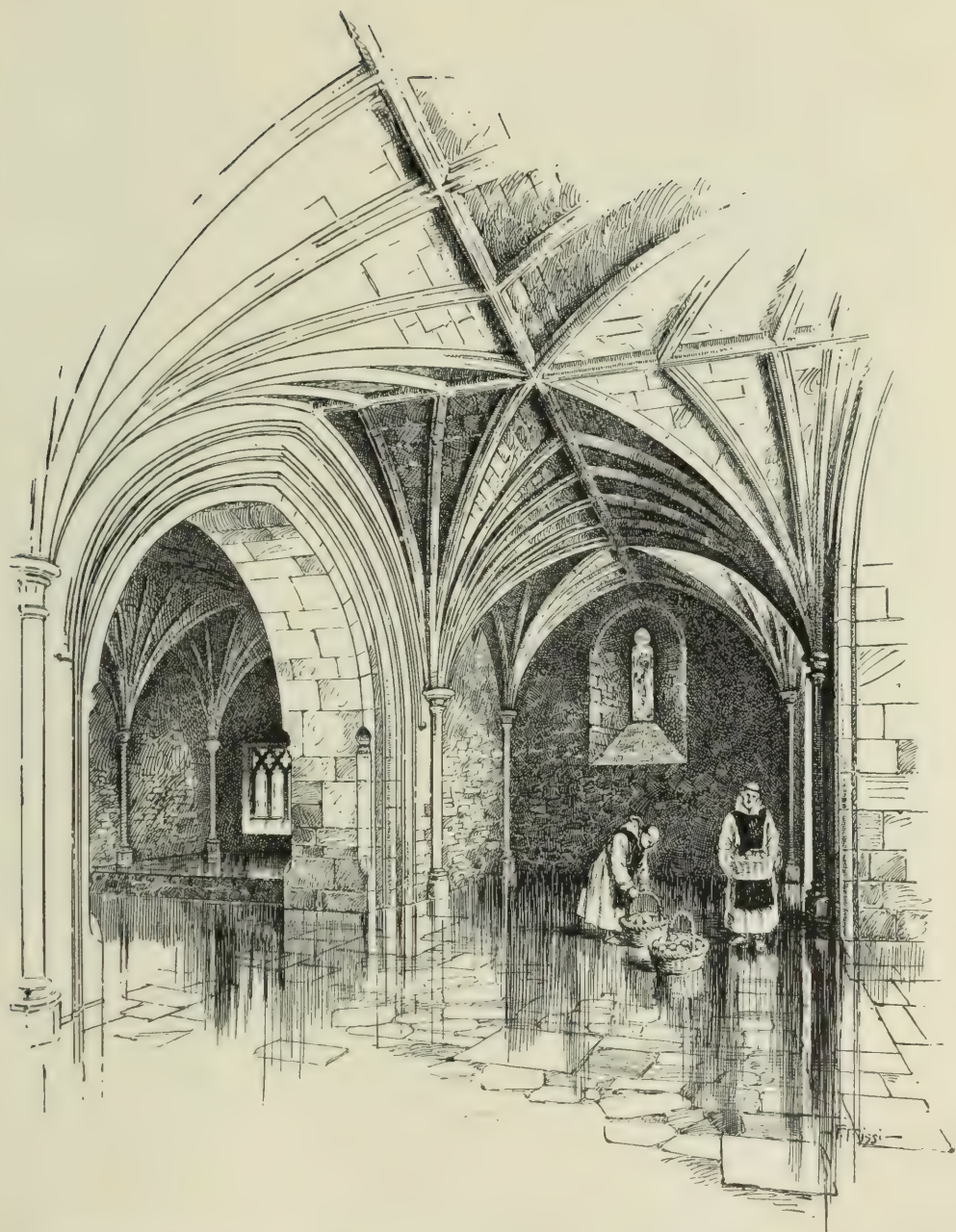
The great gatehouse originally consisted of an outer part or porch and an inner hall with side bays. The porch was elaborately vaulted in stone, and, where the original vaulting had become defective, it was restored by the insertion of exact reproductions of the original columns and ribs when Palace House was rebuilt in 1872.

The inner hall, which was entered by a fine arch, is precisely similar to the outer porch, except that it is of greater width ; it is similarly vaulted. Access for carriages was obtained to the great court beyond through an opening on the north side of the inner hall, and for foot-passengers by a doorway alongside of the opening.

A winding staircase or "vice," which was continued upwards into a turret, formed one of the means of communication between the outer hall and the floor above ;



THE OUTER PORCH OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.
THE DINING-ROOM OF PALACE HOUSE.



THE OUTER PORCH AND THE INNER HALL OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.



THE SOUTH CHAPEL OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.
Now the Drawing-Room of Palace House

it can still be ascended from the level of the chapels ; but not from the ground floor to that level. There was a wide circular stone staircase leading from the west side of the inner hall to the upper floor by which access was obtained to the chapels and to other rooms on the west and north sides of the great gatehouse, on that floor.

The upper floor contained two parallel chapels communicating through arches. These chapels corresponded in size with the porch and inner hall below. In each chapel, on its south wall, is a piscina, to receive the water in which the priest washed his hands, and that used for rinsing the chalice at the time of the celebration of mass. Close to this, in the southern chapel, is an aumbrey or cupboard in which the sacred vessels were kept. In Plates III. and IV. an attempt has been made to reproduce the appearance of the porch and the inner hall and of the southern chapel in monastic times.

The gatehouse chapels were used by persons within the precinct, possibly by those in sanctuary, for whom there were no stalls within the Abbey.

THE ABBEY CHURCH.

The Church and other important parts of the Abbey were built of stone from Binstead, next Quarr Abbey, in the Isle of Wight, and from Caen in Normandy ; the former was used for the external work. The marble for columns, capitals and bases came from Purbeck ; where the marble has been exposed to the weather it is now in nearly all places either destroyed or in process of destruction. The roof was probably covered with lead¹ ; but slates were used for covering some of the buildings of the Abbey.

¹ *Vide* Chapter XXIV.

A visitor to a cathedral or any church of large size, and particularly one on a cruciform plan, wherever he may enter, should at once proceed to the intersection of the arms of the cross under the central tower, and stand there for some time. This is obviously the best point from which to obtain a view of the presbytery, the quire, the nave and the transepts, and to gain a general idea of the building as a whole.

Reference to the plan shows that the church, the largest and most lofty of the buildings constituting the Abbey, was placed to the north, a position in which it gave shelter from the north winds.

Beaulieu Abbey church from east to west measured 336 feet ; across the transepts from north to south it was 186 feet. Let us assume that we are standing in the Abbey itself and not, alas ! as we must, upon an open, grass-covered space. A building of such a size must necessarily be lofty, or it would be out of proportion. If the architect followed the proportions of height to width, *i.e.*, 2 to 1, adopted in the cathedrals of Lincoln and Exeter and in York Minster, the height of the ceiling of the nave of Beaulieu Abbey was 68 feet ; but probably it was of greater elevation. All four arms of the cross were roofed at the same level and with roofs of the same pitch, and a clearstory rose above the roof of the aisles, which were covered by a lean-to roof at a lower elevation. A low square tower probably rose above the roof-level at the intersection of the arms of the cross.

In plan it was unlike any English Cistercian abbey, but was almost the same, as regards the ground plan, as that at Clairvaux.

THE PRESBYTERY.

Standing beneath the tower let us turn towards the east. We are looking into the Presbytery : the floor

is above our level, and perhaps a double flight of two or three steps leads to it : further on are more steps leading to the high altar, behind it is the reredos, and on either side are doorways used for processions. Above or upon the altar is a gilt or golden image of the Madonna and Child.

In the wall on the south side are the sedilia, carved in stone for the abbat, the celebrant, the deacon and the subdeacon : the number of these seats varied, but there were usually only three.

At Beaulieu the presbytery had three straight bays of equal width and a semicircular apse of six bays ; and an ambulatory of ten bays, of which two on either side were straight and six formed the apse. A wall divided the presbytery from the aisle which surrounded it.

At Clairvaux the elevation was of three stories, with separate lean-to roofs over the chapels and ambulatory, and with a clearstory to the ambulatory—an arrangement adopted later at Cîteaux and the churches copied from it.

Clairvaux was begun in 1133 or 1135 ; and we know that at Pontigny, begun in 1150, the same plan was followed ; but in an extension of the church of Pontigny to the eastward, dating between 1180-1200—not many years, that is, before Beaulieu was begun—a more ambitious plan for the eastern end of the church was adopted. The presbytery there has three straight bays beginning at the crossing, of which the western is much the wider, and seven bays in a polygonal apse. The bays of the ambulatory correspond with those of the presbytery.

Reference to the historical ground plan of Beaulieu shows that there were buttresses to the apse. Buttresses, to give strength and support to a building, were only placed where they were wanted, and the existence of such buttresses suggests that the building terminated with a clearstory and not, as at Clairvaux (where there are no

buttresses), with a lean-to roof covering the chapels and ambulatory. We shall therefore not, I think, be wrong in concluding that the plan followed at Beaulieu was a combination of that of Clairvaux with that of Pontigny (Plate XXVII.), and also that, as at Pontigny, there were flying buttresses at the east end. This would give the Abbey a far nobler appearance towards the east, whether viewed from within or without. Around the aisle of the presbytery, which was 12 feet wide, there were ten chapels, of which six were radiating, and four, that is, two on each side, were straight.

THE QUIRE.

Still standing on the same spot, but now turning towards the west, we see the Quire, in which indeed we are standing. Around, on both sides and also at the western end, are the stalls of the monks; in the centre are the lecterns, on which rest the service books.

Opposite the middle of the first bay of the nave, counting from the east end, was

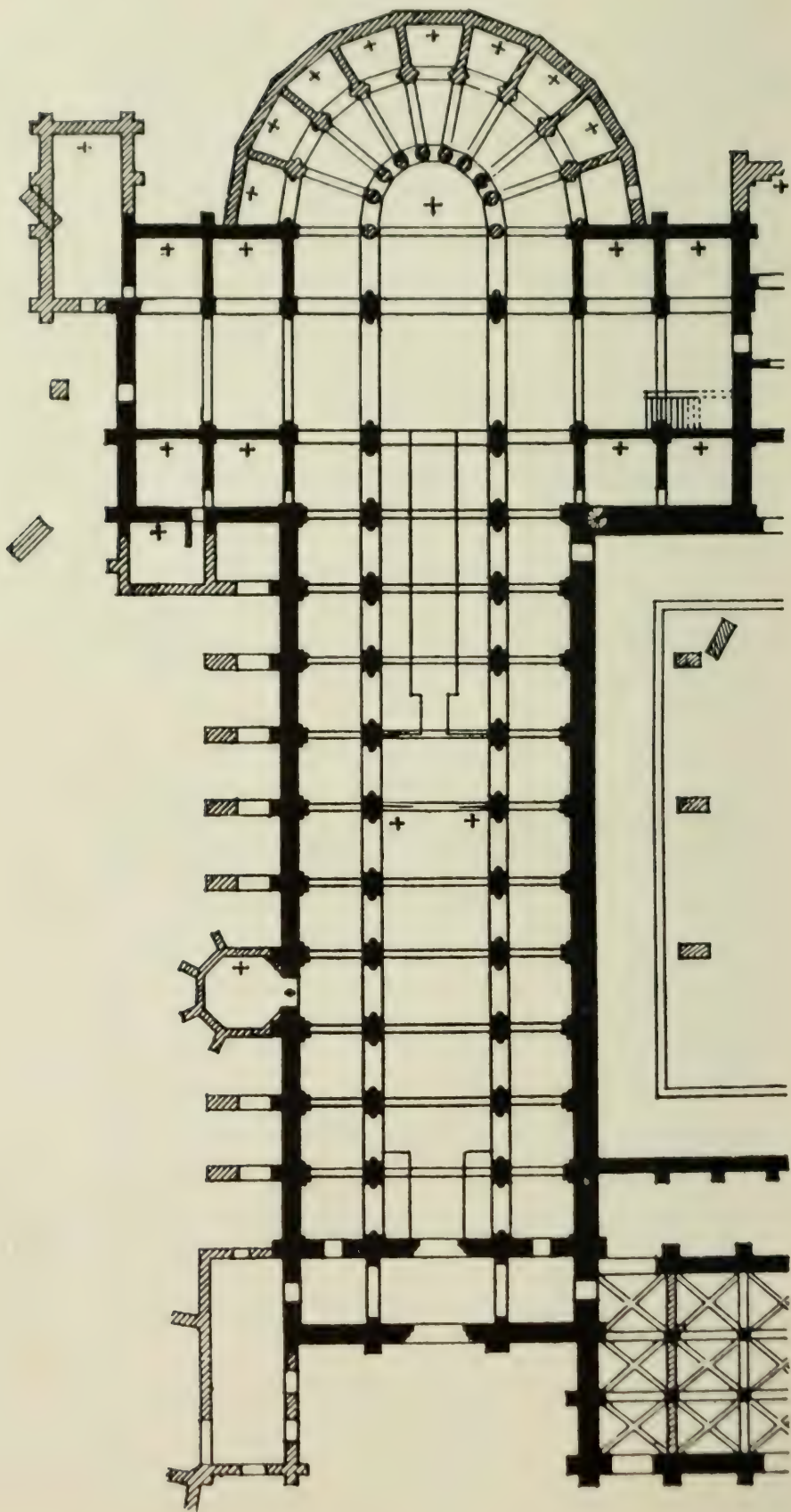
THE PULPITUM.

In mediæval documents the word "pulpitum" is often to be understood to mean the rood-screen, and in Beaulieu Abbey it is probable that a structure of this kind extended across the nave opposite the middle of the first bay, as a rough foundation, 4 feet wide, was found in that situation during the excavations made between 1900 and 1903. The nature and use of the pulpitum are explained in the descriptions of that at Fountains and at Kirkstall by Mr. W. St. John Hope¹:—

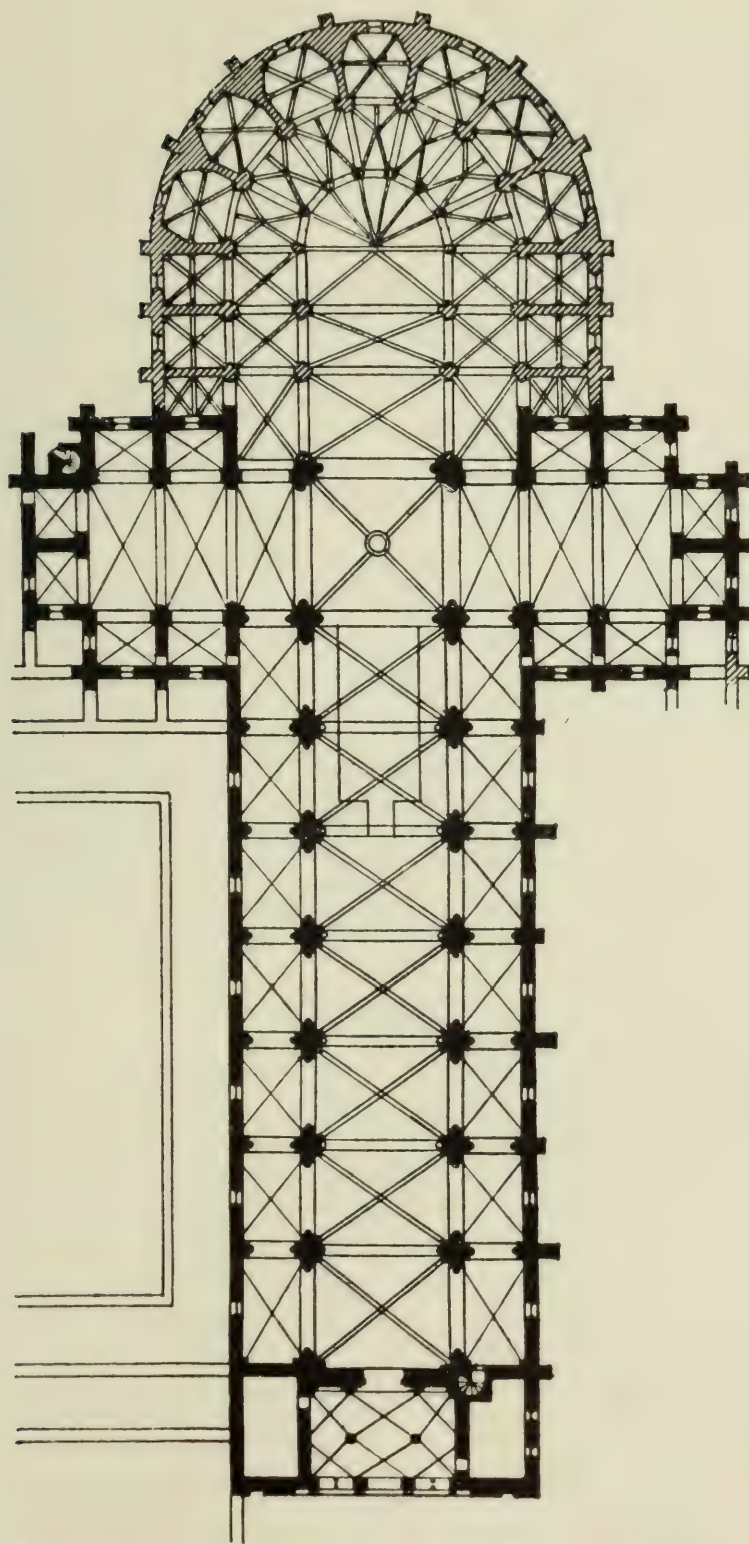
"The first and second pillars on both sides of the nave have holes high up for a pair of beams or joists crossing

¹ *Yorkshire Archeological Journal*, vol. XV., p. 305, "Fountains Abbey."

CLAIRVAUX



PONTIGNY



the arch, and it is clear that the space between the two transverse screens was floored over to form a loft or gallery. On the north this loft was carried right up to the aisle wall, where there are two holes above the string-course for the beams to support it. This combination of screens and loft formed the pulpitum.

“On the left stood the organs, apparently in the north end. . . .

“The space beneath the loft formed a lobby or quire entry, closed at each end by a screen across the arch. . . .”

“At the western end the stalls were returned against the solid stone screen called the pulpitum, which crossed the nave between the second pair of pillars. This screen was surmounted by a loft or gallery, whence its name, from which the epistle and gospel were sung on festivals and had in the middle of its western side the quire door.”¹

In the early Church the preacher appears usually to have stood upon the steps in front of the altar ; St. Chrysostom, however, is said to have preached from the ambo or pulpitum, in order to be better heard by the people. The pulpit was introduced into the Reformed Churches by an order dating from about the time of the appearance of the first liturgy, A.D. 1549 ; previously a pulpit was very rarely found in a parish church.

THE NAVE.

Looking down the nave we see nine bays on either side, with aisles to the north and south. The ceiling of the nave was of wood ; the aisles were vaulted in stone ; possibly a wall of some height separated the nave from the aisles ; the latter were for processional use and not, as in modern churches, for seating some of the worshippers. The nave was 188 feet long by 32½ feet

¹ *The Thoresby Society*, vol. XVI., p. 18, “Kirkstall Abbey.”

wide at the east end, and 34 feet at the west end ; it probably ended with a porch or "galilee" across the west front, but no remains of this have been found.

From the pulpitum to the west end of the nave was the part of the church assigned to the lay brethren. In some churches, however, the Retroquire, a place for infirm monks and others temporarily unfit to sit in the quire, was placed between the pulpitum and the quire of the lay brothers. Probably the stalls of the latter, as at Clairvaux, were placed in parallel rows on either side of the nave. The number of stalls in any abbey would, of course, depend upon the number of the *conversi* ; each lay brother probably had his appointed seat.

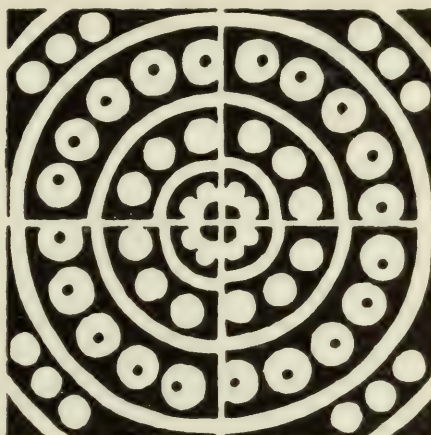
The nave was paved with tiles, some of which are still preserved ; "they were arranged in three divisions by bands running east and west ; the outer bands terminated at 25 feet from the west wall in two cross bands, whereas the centre band of tiles extended into the recess of the west door."¹ It is probable that these cross bands mark the western end of the quire of the lay brothers (Plate XXVIII.).

The extreme west end of the church, with the porch, probably formed a kind of ante-chapel, an arrangement not uncommon in college chapels. The porch was not considered to be quite as sacred as the rest of the building.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

Turning to the right we see the north transept, "perhaps the most curious feature of the church, and the arrangement of the superstructure, as indicated by the foundations, is somewhat uncertain." It has four bays with aisles on either side, with three chapels towards the east and a similar number towards the west. It probably ended in a porch or "galilee," which extended

¹ *Op. cit.*



PATTERNS OF TILES FOUND IN THE ABBEY CHURCH.

across both its aisles, and was really within the church, as the main walls of the transept included it. The central division of the porch was probably occupied by a gallery which opened into the church. A turret containing a winding stair existed on the north front in line with the main wall running east and west.

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

Turning now towards the south we see that the transept is similar in size to the north, but has only one aisle, which is on the eastern side. On this side also are three chapels. On the opposite side of this transept is an arched opening, leading to a flight of steps used by the monks at night, when going to or coming from their dormitory.

Admission to the sacristy, a room in which the vestments and vessels used in the services were kept, was obtained through a door at the end of the transept.

THE SOUTH AISLE.

Let us now walk down the south aisle, along the wall, which is the only considerable part of the church still standing ; this wall will repay a careful study, as, by removing the ivy with which it was overgrown, much of the original structure has recently (1910) been brought into view. The aisle was 13 feet wide, and the wall 10 feet thick. The entrance from the cloister is seen in the first bay ; along the foot of the wall some semicircular stones will be noticed : these are sub-bases of the shafts which carried the stone vaulting of the aisle. At a height of 10 feet above the floor the remains of a projecting "string course" can be seen in places, and above it each bay was recessed 2 feet. In each bay it is seen that there are two recesses, 3 ft. 8 ins. in width, separated by a jamb

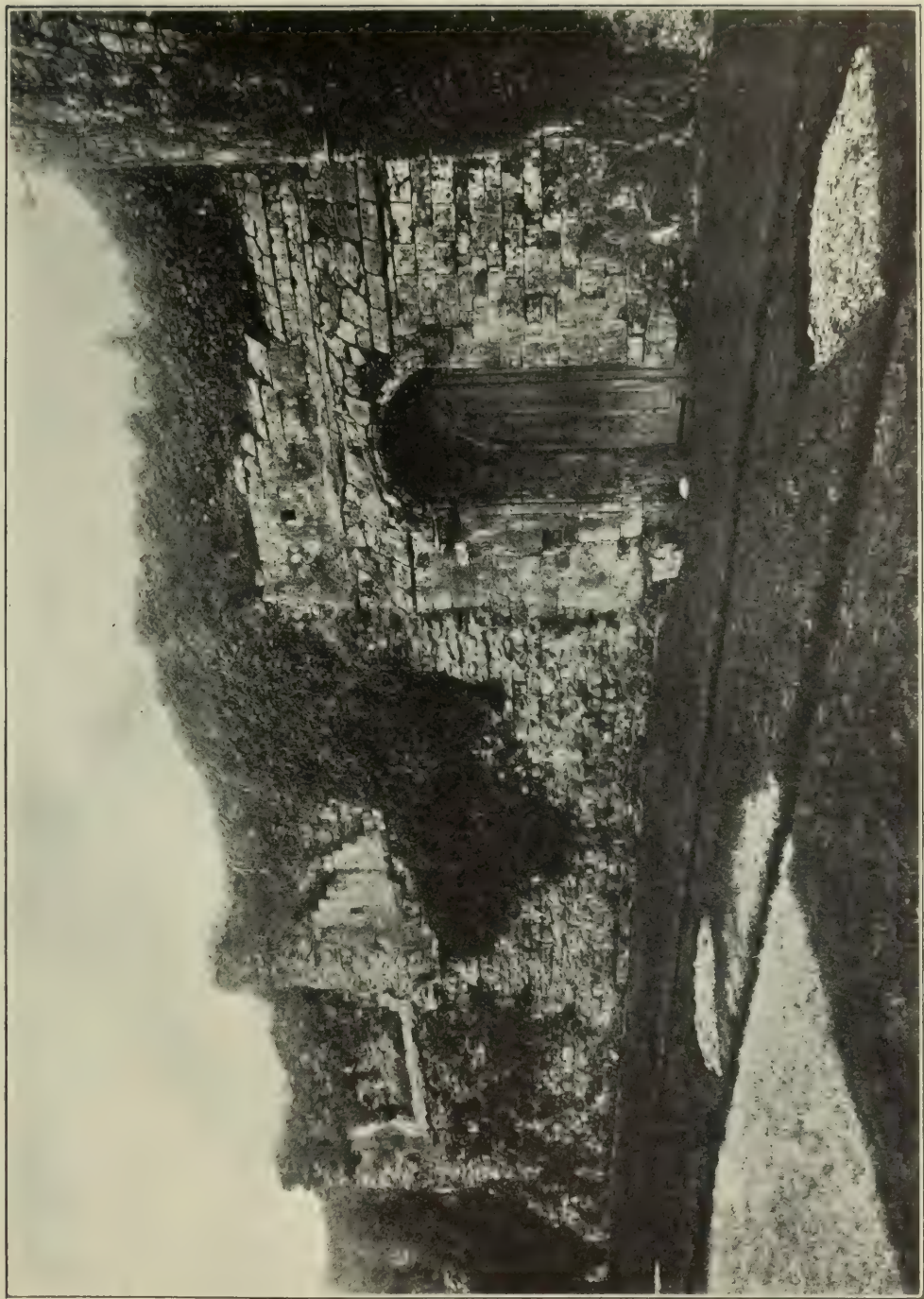
12 inches wide, forming a wall arcade ; these may have extended upwards to the top of the existing wall, which is 21 feet from the floor of the aisle. Each ended in an arch, which was probably rounded in form. The base of the window lighting each bay was immediately above this level ; it was 12 feet in width, and may have been two lancets side by side ; the height is doubtful. In Plate VI. an attempt has been made to reproduce the appearance of the south aisle.

In the eighth bay is the rear arch of a doorway leading to the lane which is seen in the engraving. Still nearer to the west end of the church, in the last bay, was formerly an arched entrance to the staircase which led to the lay brothers' dormitory ; only some doubtful traces of this archway remain, as the north face was in part rebuilt after the destruction of the church. Another small doorway, parts of which are visible near the south-west angle of the church, led to a winding staircase ; this was probably surmounted by a turret.

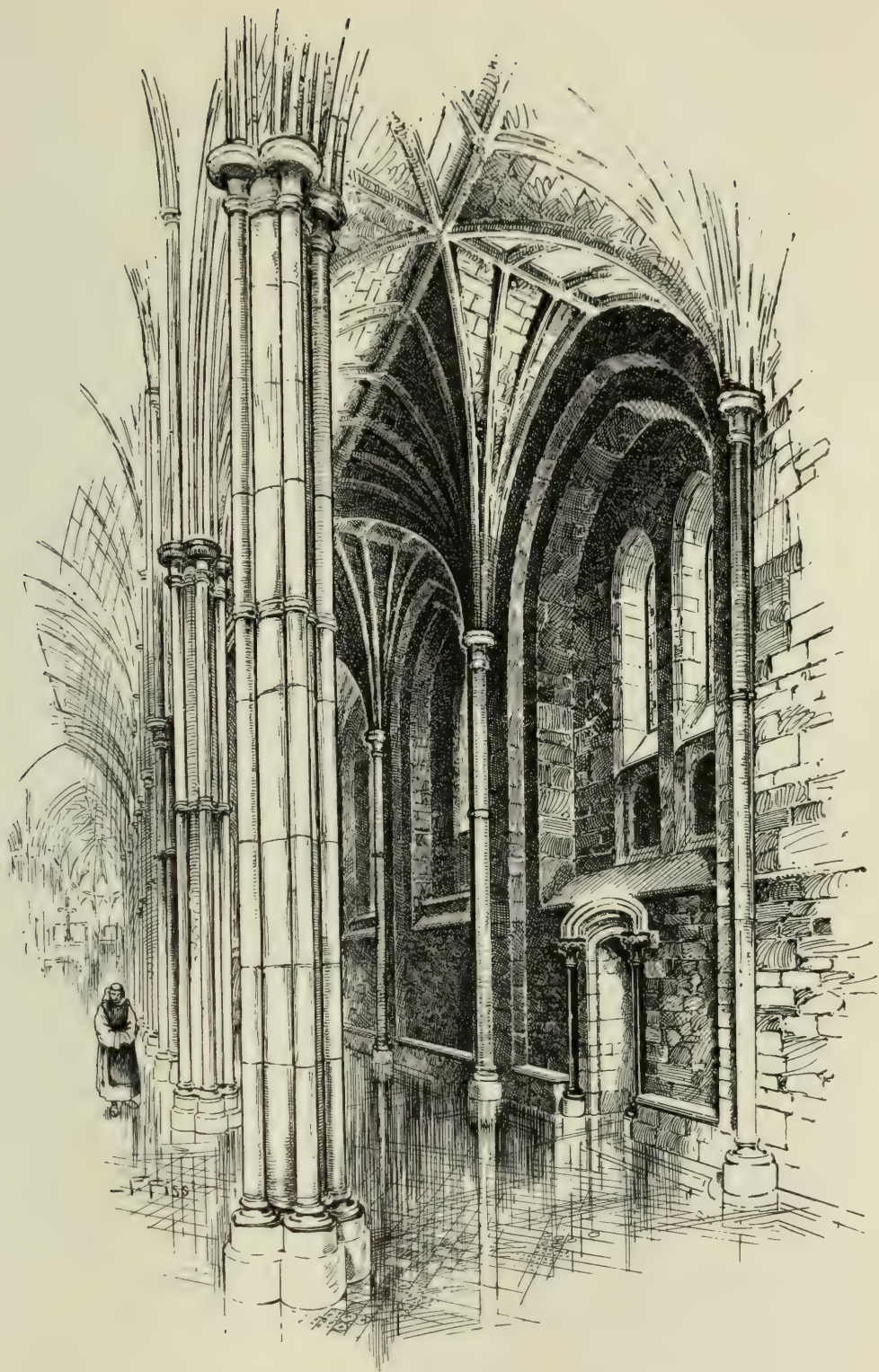
As we cross the nave to reach the north aisle we should certainly have seen a large window at the west end of the church, also a door, and possibly a " galilee " or porch.

THE NORTH AISLE.

The north aisle was equal in width to the south, but the absence of the cloister on this side would allow of the windows being placed upon a much lower level, possibly their sills were just above the recessed portion of each bay. Forgetting for the moment the supposed existence of the building, we see as we continue our walk the outlines of the buttresses marked in white gravel. One in line with the north wall projects towards the west, and another, and larger one, in line with the west wall, projects towards the north. Passing seven more such buttresses, forming eight bays, we arrive at the angle of



THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CHURCH.
Showing the Lay Brothers' entrance from the lane.



THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE ABBEY CHURCH.

the north transept and the nave, and continue along the west aisle of the transept. The galilee, which formed the end of the transept, has already been described. Crossing the transept, and continuing along its eastern aisle and around the ambulatory of the apse we pass twelve chapels, and find, on our right hand, at the angle of the presbytery and south transept, a lavatory for the use of the priests within the church. Crossing the south transept we leave the church through the door and enter the cloister.

Before doing so, however, we may pause to express our thanks to those who have rendered this walk round the church possible and its outlines intelligible.

In 1900, under the wise advice and with the assistance of Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. Harold Brakspear, the first Lord Montagu, who loved the Abbey and everything connected with it, caused further investigations to be made, by which the outline of the eastern end of the church was determined. Mr. Harold Brakspear continued the excavations then begun and we have to thank him for the almost complete knowledge which we now possess of the plan of the chief buildings of the Abbey. "The sites of the buildings, when possible, have been treated in a way worthy of imitation by owners of historical monuments. The foundations, being in most cases all that remained, and therefore undesirable to be left exposed, have been marked out in the turf, and the spaces originally occupied by the walls they supported covered with white gravel, so that the extent of the buildings may be seen."

That it was not always so is proved by the following extract from a manuscript, unsigned and undated, but probably written about the year 1780:—

"The church is so completely destroyed that its very scite is a matter of doubt to the inhabitants, who for the

most part think that it stood in the field at some distance from the present parish church and that those two walls with gables [*i.e.*, the Wine Press] formed a part of it & indeed I found that Mr. Warner, Lord Beaulieu's steward, who lives on the spot, and the Revd. Mr. Adams, both rather intelligent men & respecters of these things, seemd to be of that opinion; but I quickly discovered the error and ascertained its site to a demonstration, tho' on account of the eastern part being entirely pulled down & levelled I was unable to make a complete icknography. The nave of the church adjoined the south wall of the cloister, or rather the south wall of the cloister, which is still perfect, form'd the sh. wall of the aisle of the nave. Drawing a straight line 67 feet north from this wall the foundations of another wall running E. & W. paral to it are plainly to be seen, which immediately gives the breadth of the nave, which space is a farm yard has now a cart road running through its centre E. & W. & the sides filled with pig styres &c. for the use of the farm & what was extraordinary notwithstanding the nave has for so many years been so abominably profaned, in many parts sheets of the original pavement were plainly to be seen consisting of a profusion of flower'd and ornamentyll tyles. The foundations of the pillars running up the nave were easily to be seen and in the middle of the north aisle a stone vault with a lead coffin the marble covering which had been inlaid with a brass was lying on the ground in its original situation. There is a fine door, smaller than the one at the east, in the south wall, which leads out of the nave into the west ambulatory, and the western wall of the nave was easily traced just by it. The transepts were ascertainably by the foundations of walls and part of the east wall of the cloister formd the west wall of the south transept. Beyond this we could trace no more, the ground being levelled

and covered with grass ; yet Mr. Warner said that in very dry weather the wither'd grass always shew'd where the foundations of walls run."

(The MSS. is in the possession of Lord Montagu.)

The smaller cross, standing in the middle of the presbytery at about 6 feet from the centre of the apex, marks the spot where, in 1885, a body wrapped in lead, without a stone coffin, was found. This was probably the body of Isabella, first wife of Richard, second son of King John, Earl of Poictou and Cornwall, and, in 1256, King of the Romans (*vide* Chapter XXIV.).

The larger cross, erected in 1911, marks the site of the high altar.



CHAPTER XII.

THE BUILDINGS OF THE ABBEY—(*continued*).

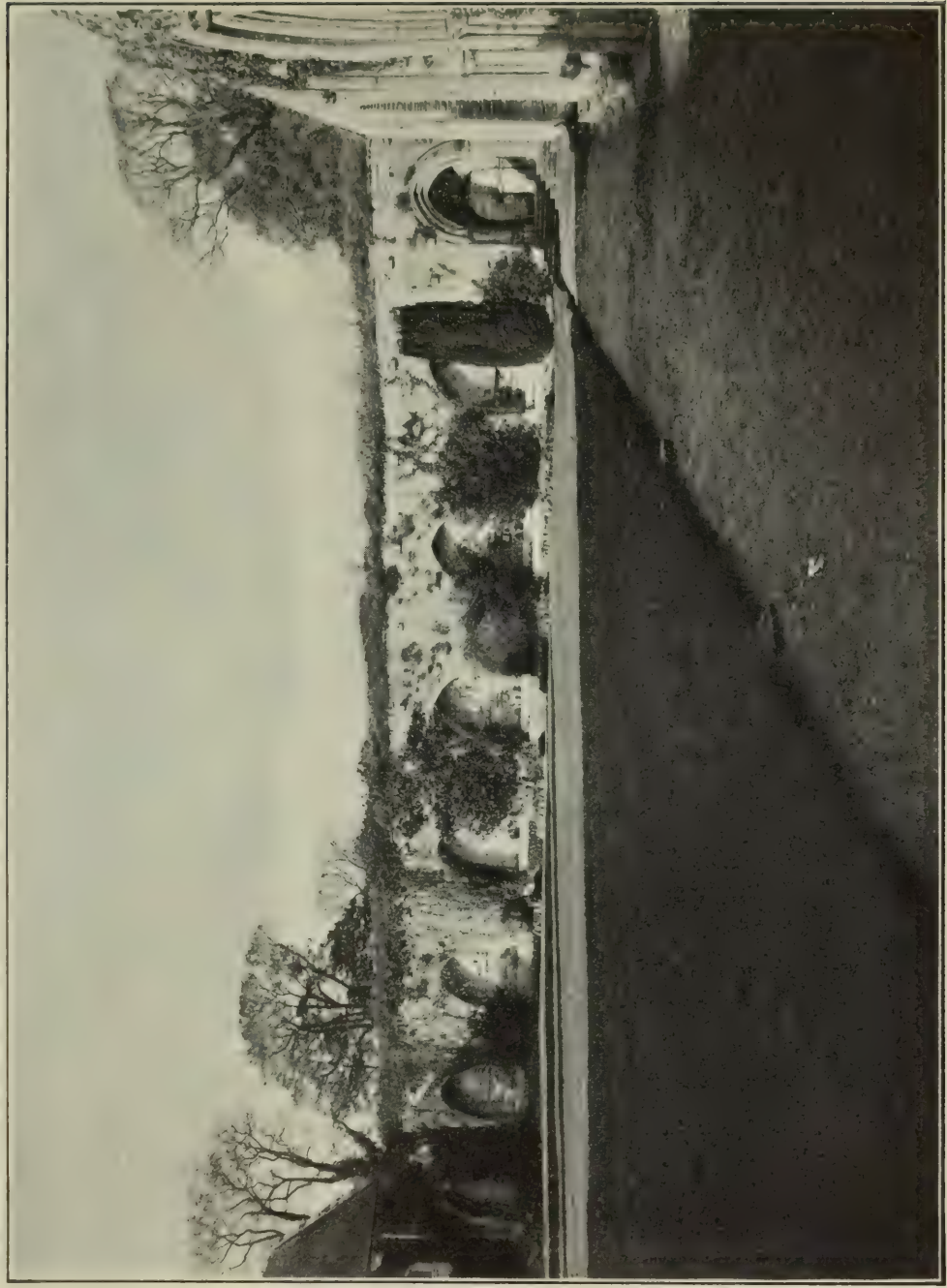
THE CLOISTER.

IT must be difficult for anyone who has not seen a cloister to form a mental picture of what that at Beaulieu was like, in monastic times, from what now remains of it.

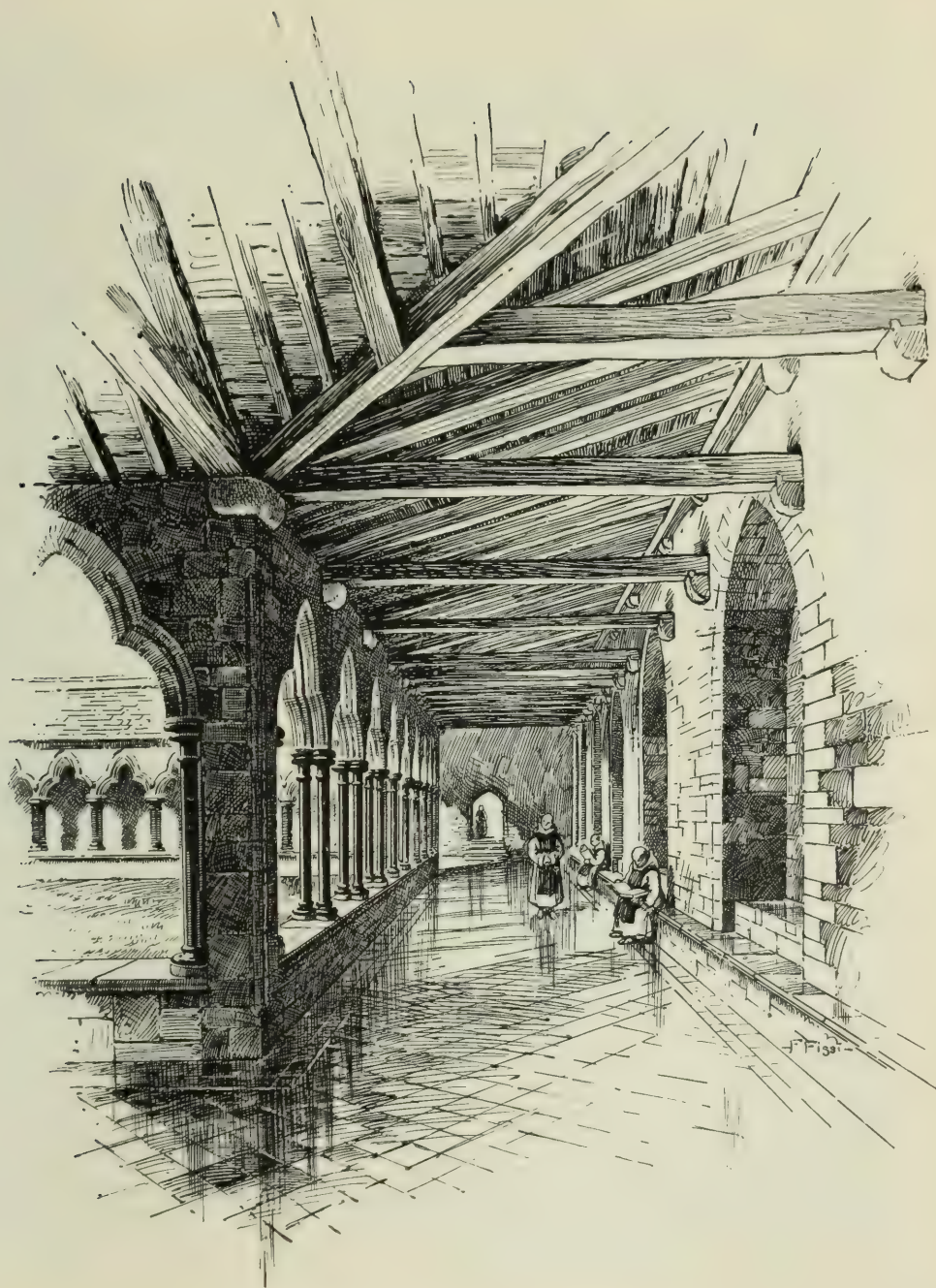
The Cloister was nearly square, and measured about 138 feet along each side. The wall towards the garth (garden), an essential feature of a cloister, is gone, but in places its foundations remain. It was probably about 20 inches in height, and upon it was a series of open arches of Purbeck marble carried on coupled columns of the same material. The alleys which surround and form the cloister were covered with a lean-to roof, which was supported along the walls by corbels; all of those over the north alley and many elsewhere still remain. Those upon the lower row carried the principals of the arches.

The seven large pointed recesses to the north were "purely constructional, in order to reduce the mass of the church wall in which they are set." They were not seats, as they now appear to have been; but this alley had a stone seat against the wall along its whole length. This side of the cloister was probably more used by the monks as a place for study and reading than the others, as being full in the sun and less of a passage-way (Plate VIII.).

The alleys were paved with square stone slabs set diagonally; some of these are in their original positions. In the centre is the grass-plat; to this there was probably an entrance, which may have been opposite to that to the Frater, the present parish church.



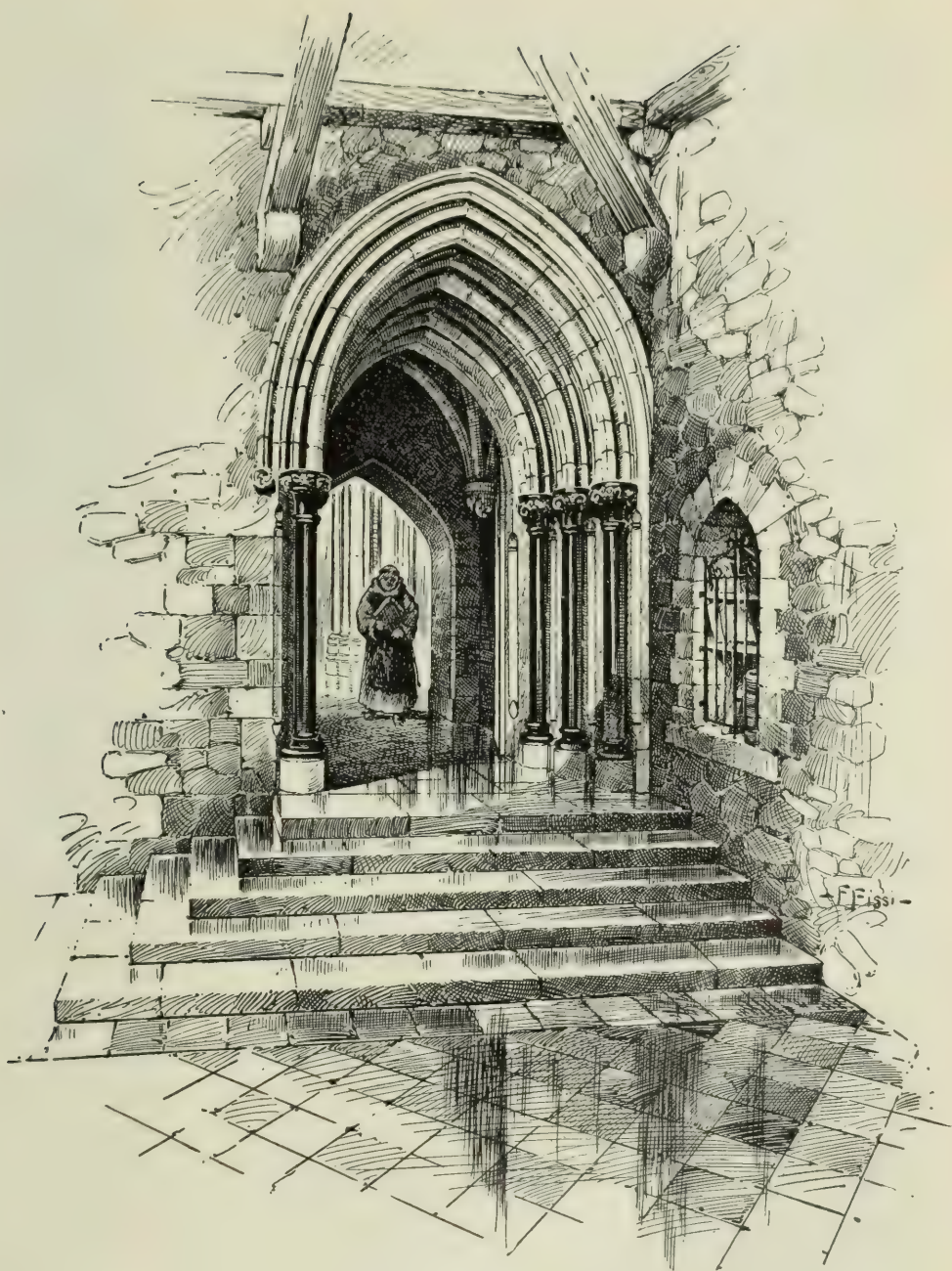
THE NORTH ALLEY OF THE CLOISTER AND SOUTH WALL OF THE CHURCH.



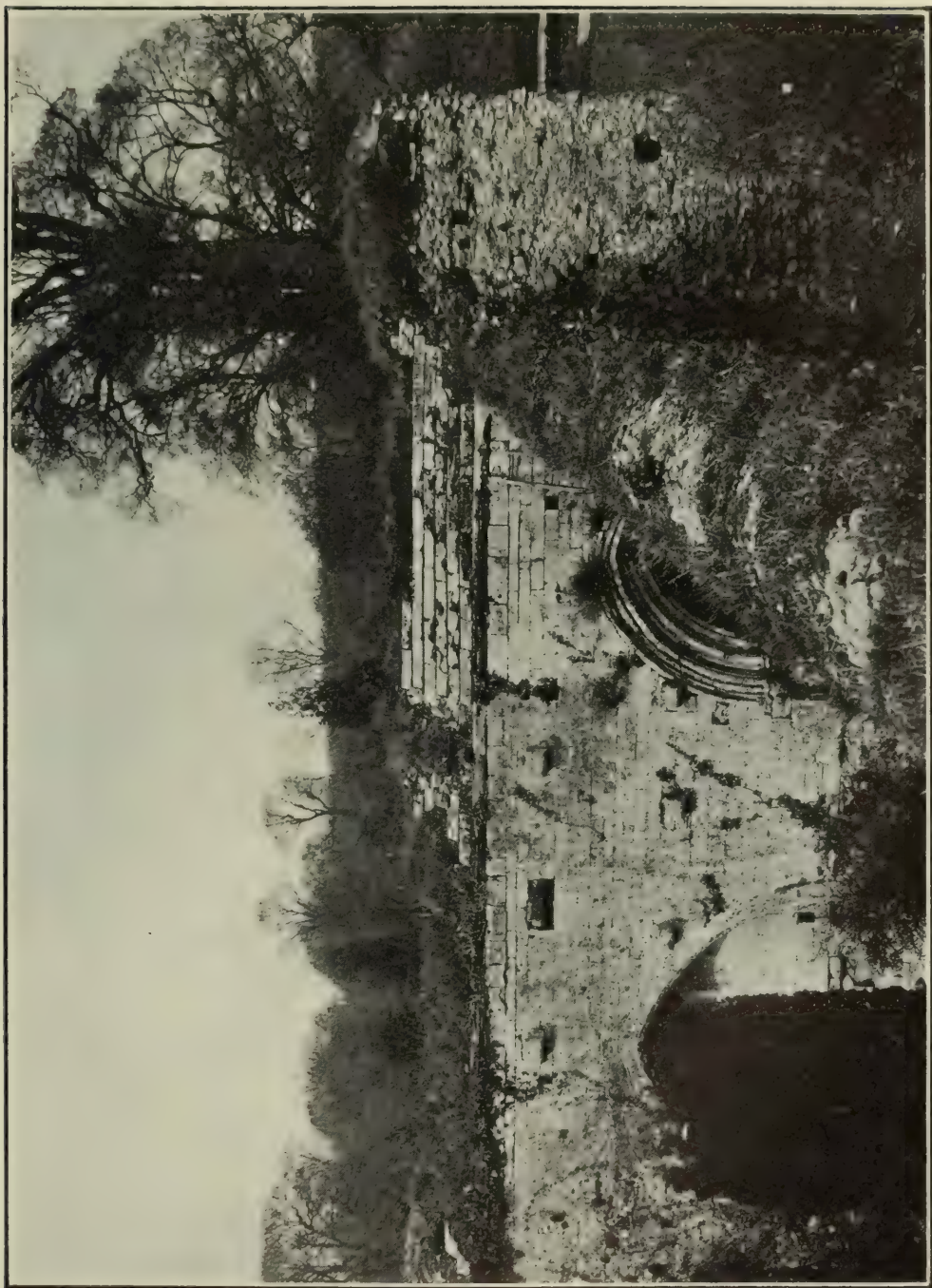
THE NORTH ALLEY OF THE CLOISTER.



THE MONKS' ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH FROM THE CLOISTER.



THE MONKS' ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH FROM THE CLOISTER.



VIEW FROM THE LEVEL OF THE MONKS' DORMITORY.
Showing the splay of one of the windows lighting the south aisle of the Church.

Looking up at the south wall of the church, we appreciate the reason for its immense strength, as upon it were carried the buttresses which on this side bore the thrust of the nave.

In the north-east angle of the cloister, approached by a short flight of steps which are still in good condition, is the beautiful arch of entrance to the church used by the monks during the daytime (Plate VIII.).

Recently (1911), by clearing away the earth and vegetation which has covered it for centuries, the original stonework of the splay of the window over this doorway has been brought into view. The recess is 12 feet in width and was bounded on the west side by a buttress 4 feet wide, of which a part of the base still remains. Similar splays and intervening buttresses extended along the whole length of this wall and their outlines are visible, although not so completely as those at its east end. The windows lighting the south aisle of the church occupied the space between each buttress; their sills were immediately above the splays of the recesses. The exact height and form of these windows cannot be determined, but a conjectural restoration is seen in Plate V.

The door of the monk's entrance to the church was not where it now is, toward the church, but within the arch and nearer to the cloister.

Close to this doorway, and on the east wall of the cloister, are the remains of a pointed recess, in the upper part of which were two shelves; it was covered by a grating, as some of the holes into which this was fixed can still be seen, and in the sill is the hole for a vertical iron bar. This recess (which is shown in Plate VIII.) may have been used for holding a lamp, or for books.

The arch over the front of the next recess, in order towards the south, is modern and probably quite unlike the original. It was called the *armarium commune* or

common bookcase ; in it were kept books for use in the cloister. The vaulting was carried by shafts in each corner ; portions of the shafts and of the vaulting and the central boss are still in position, though all are much worn. It is raised above the level of the cloister alley, and a stone seat ran along its front.

THE LIBRARY.

The next arch gave entrance to the library, which was structurally the western end of the vestry ; from this it was separated by a wall ; doors, opening outwards, led into it from the cloister. The library and vestry together formed a vaulted room 63 feet in length.

The Cistercians of Beaulieu were not a literary set, as is shown by the following quotation¹:—

“Leland, the antiquarian [*sic*], who was fortunately authorized by Henry viij just at the aera of the dissolution to inspect the libraries and archives of the different religious houses and to select or transcribe from them whatever he thought fit, included Beaulieu Abbey in his tour. The rubbish which he found in its library was of the following kind :—

“Edmerus, the monk, on the life of Archbishop Anselm.

“The life of Bishop Wilfrid.

“Stephanus on Ecelesiasticus.

“Stephanus on the Book of Kings.

“Stephanus on the Parables of Solomon.

“John Abbat of Forde on the Canticles.

“A small book of Candidus Appiace.

“A small book of Victorinus, the rhetorician, against Candidus.

¹ “Collections for the History of Hampshire by D. Y., with the original Domesday of the County, &c., &c.,” by Richard Warner, vol. I., p. 61.

"Three books of Claudian respecting the state of the soul, to Sidonius Appolinaris.

"Gislebertus on the Epistles of Paul."

"Lelandi Collect," v. IV., p. 149.

Upon the wall, between the library and the chapter arches, is a tablet to the memory of the first Lord Montagu, recording the work done in 1909 upon this part of the cloister by his son and successor in the title.

THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

A cathedral or a collegiate church, *e.g.*, Westminster Abbey, in our own time is governed by a Dean and Chapter, the latter consisting of the Canons and Prebendaries. In monastic times the chapter house was the meeting place of the abbat and monks for the management of the affairs of the community and for the judicial consideration of questions of discipline. The name is derived from the Latin word *capitulum*, a chapter, as in it was read daily after prime a chapter of the rule of St. Benedict. At Beaulieu the entrance to the chapter house was through the centre of the three beautiful arches which are the chief architectural glory of the place. Probably the side arches were subdivided, but of this there is no certain evidence. When the chapter was not in secret session the novices would probably be standing outside in the cloister alley, listening to what was going on. Indeed, the arches here, as elsewhere, existed for the express purpose of enabling those standing in the cloister to hear the open proceedings in chapter; this would obviously have been impossible had the cloister end of the chapter house been formed by a wall and a closed door.

The monks would be sitting on stone benches with a raised step, which ran all around the room and the abbat would occupy a raised seat at the east end. There were

probably four bays and a double row of marble pillars dividing the room into three alleys. The roof was vaulted, as is shewn by the existence of the vaulting shafts upon the upper bench (Plate IX.).

Chapter houses were often used as places of burial for distinguished members of the Order; this was so at Beaulieu, as is proved by the presence of the stone coffin and also the two coffin lids which lie in the north and in the middle alley, and probably mark the burial place of three of the abbats. The east end and the south side of the chapter house have been destroyed.

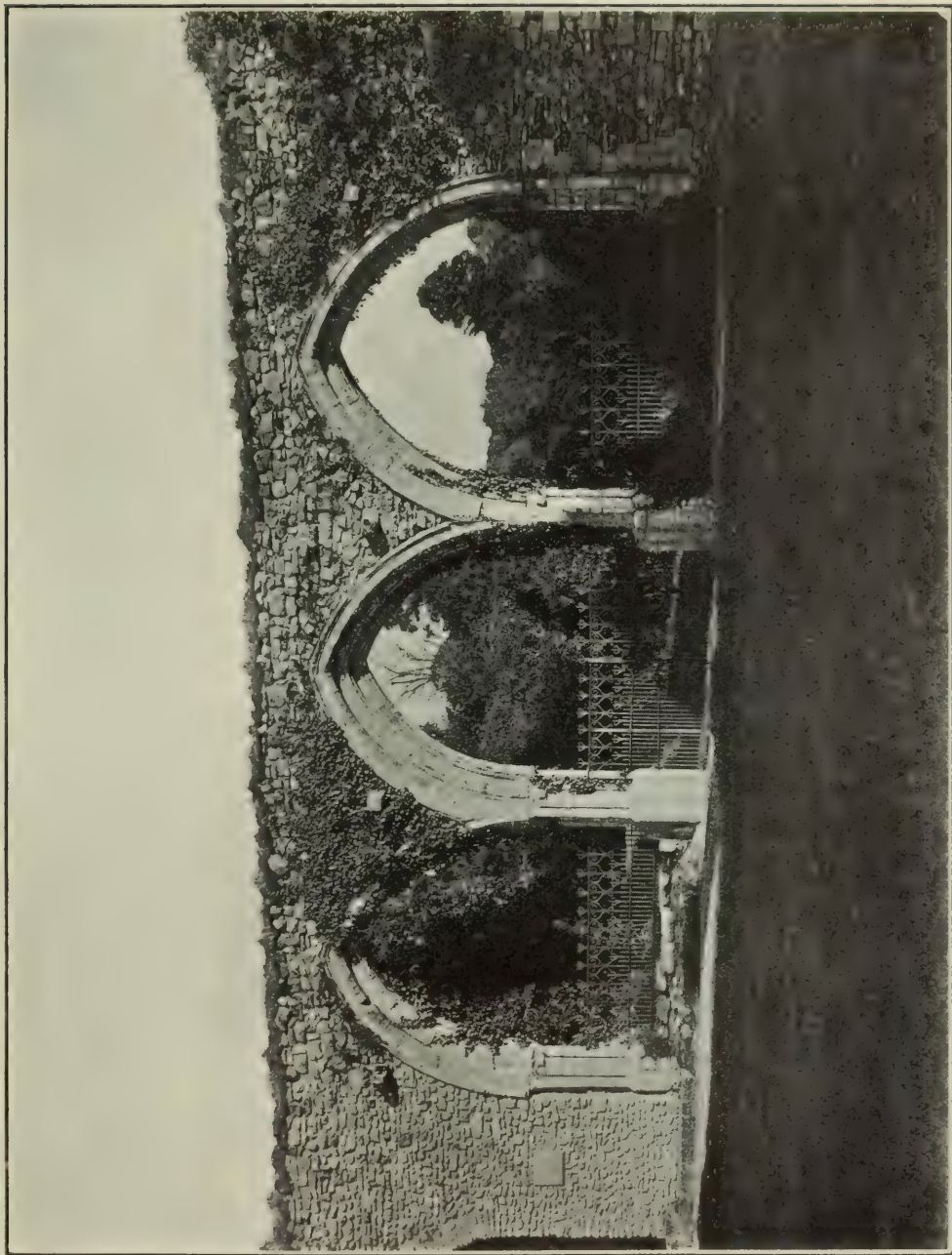
THE PARLOUR.

The parlour, or "slipe," was a plainly vaulted room, $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. This room formed the passage of communication between the cloister and the buildings of the monks' infirmary, which lie to the east (*vide* Ground plan). The parlour was also a place used for writing, and conversation was permitted there; but in the cloister itself talking, except at certain fixed hours, was contrary to the rules of the Order.

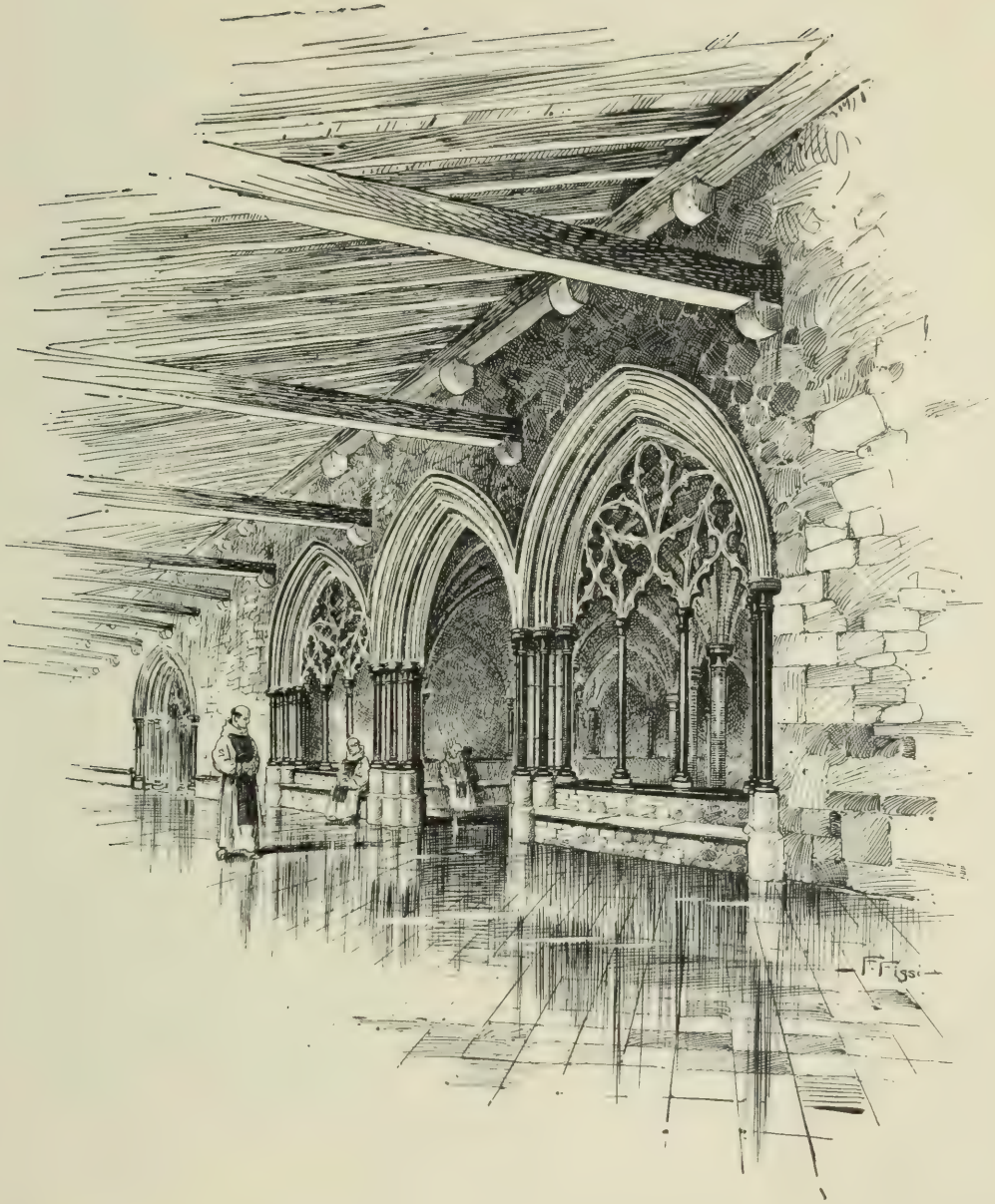
The Cistercians, as stated already, were not a literary Order; indeed, we are told that their rules prohibited them from writing books and illuminating manuscripts—work which in other Orders was often carried on in the room to which the Parlour corresponds.

THE DORTER SUBVAULT.

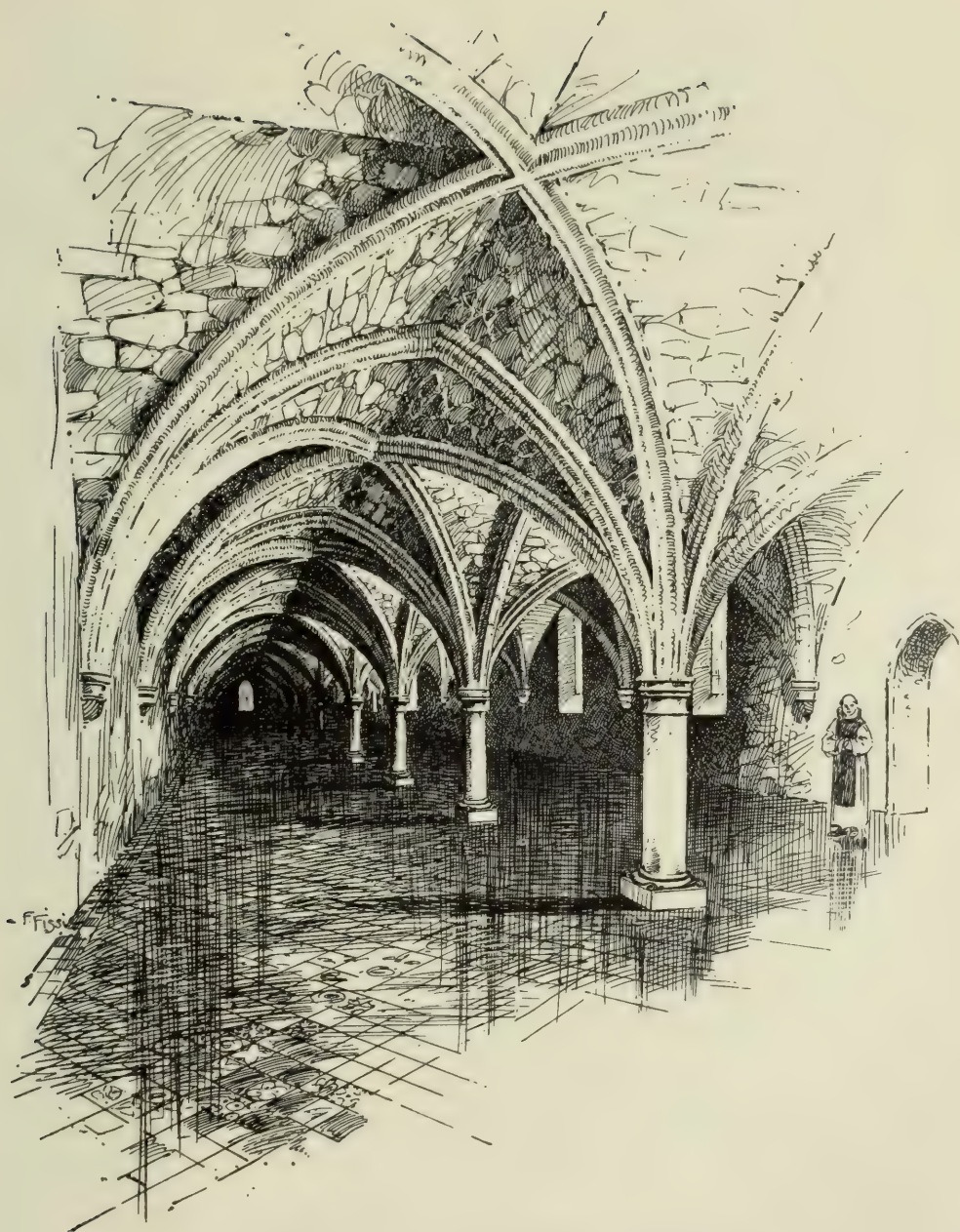
A vaulted chamber, 115 feet long, extended under the southern part of the monks' sleeping place. The vaulting was carried on corbels, one of which, of a fluted pattern, remains in the corner immediately to the left of the entrance. It was divided into eight bays by a row of pillars running down the centre; the base of one of these pillars is still in position. The entrance from the cloister to this room was through a doorway, of which portions



THE CHAPTER HOUSE AND THE EAST ALLEY OF THE CLOISTER.



THE CHAPTER HOUSE AND THE EAST ALLEY OF THE CLOISTER.



THE SUB-VAULT OF THE MONKS' DORMITORY.

of the jambs and sill remain : this doorway has recently (1911) been reopened. Plate X. shows the dorter subvault as it was in monastic days.

THE DORTER OR DORMITORY.

On the first floor, extending over the chapter house, the parlour, and the subvault, was the sleeping place of the monks. The following description of that at Clairvaux may be taken as fairly representing the arrangement commonly found in all Cistercian monasteries :—

“At the end of the said transept are thirty or forty great steps . . . to the dorter of the religious. The whole is of stone and vaulted. . . . The chambers are on both sides . . . and are made entirely of joiner’s work, containing in length from seven to eight feet and in width six feet ; in all of which there is a bedstead with bedding, a little table, and a shelf for writing, and the said chambers are ornamented with beautiful pictures upon canvas and furnished with tables relating to the devotion of each religious. In the door of each of these chambers is a window of two divisions, through which each religious going by the dorters is able to see his companion in his chamber ; the said chambers look upon the cloister.”

The dormitory at Beaulieu was not vaulted, but had an open roof of timber similar to that of the Domus Conversorum. There were two approaches to the dormitory, one for night use, and the other for day use. Of the former, mention has already been made in the description of the south transept. The latter commenced in the flight of steps to be seen in the south-east angle of the cloister.

Rere Dorter.—In the building thus named on the ground plan, running eastwards at right angles to the Dormitory, were the latrines.

The Warming House (Calefactorium)—Near the flight of steps already mentioned are some remains of a doorway, now recessed, which led into the warming house. The position of the fire-place, with its vaulted hood, on the west side can be seen by proceeding into the churchyard and passing the entrance porch. It was a vaulted room, 40 feet by 19 feet wide. Two of the corbels which carried the vaulting are visible in the angles of the west wall; of one, however, only a small portion remains. Over the warming house there was a room the use of which is doubtful.

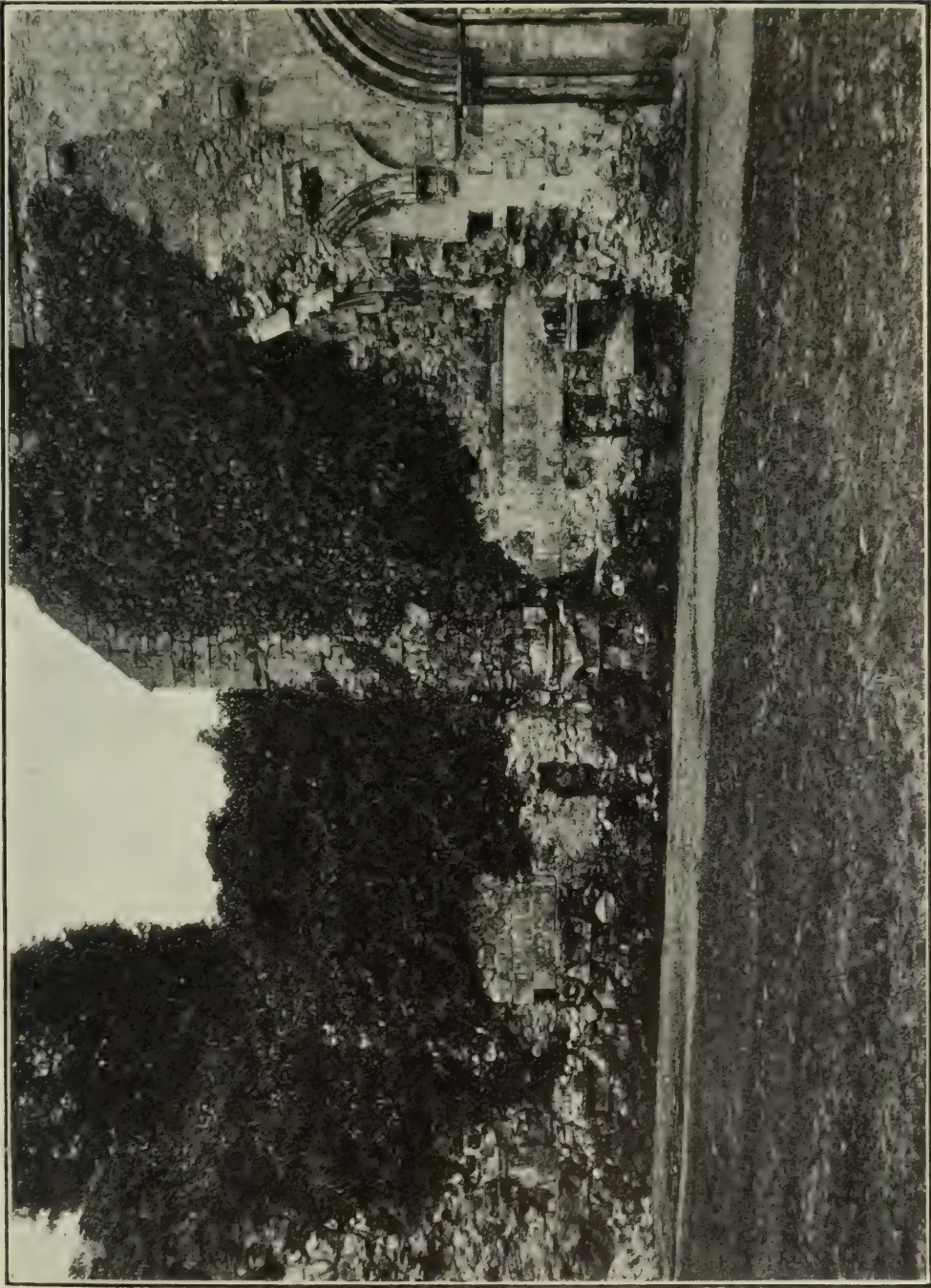
THE LAVATORY.

The washing place of the monks in the cloister was situated between the door of the warming house and the door of the frater, now the parish church. It was of thirteenth century work, but later than the rest of the buildings.

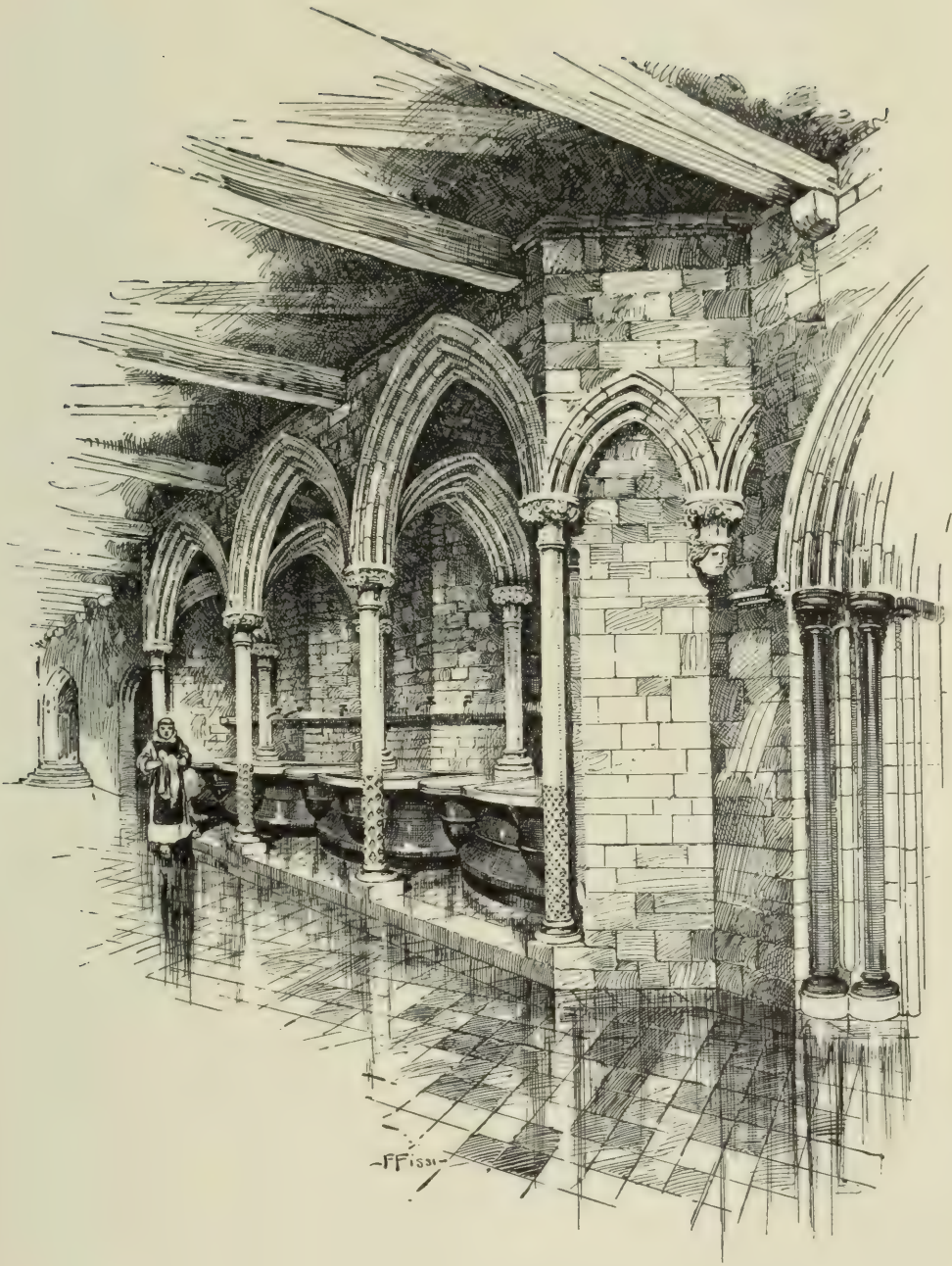
Our present method of washing the hands in a basin of water did not obtain in monastic times in Beaulieu Abbey. Then the hands were held under a tap of water running into a shallow sink.

The description of the lavatory given in the paper already frequently referred to, although somewhat more technical in style than that adopted throughout this book, is so clear that it would be a pity not to quote it in full:—

“Why the original lavatory was done away with in so short a time it is impossible to say; but the new structure that superseded it must have been, when perfect, one of the finest of its kind in the kingdom. It consisted of three open arches of moulded members, supported upon columns projecting beyond the wall face, and flanked at either end by small splayed arches back to the wall line. One half of the western of the small arches remains, and was carried next the wall by delicately carved capitals supported by the



THE LAVATORY.



THE LAVATORY.

head of a man. The back of the lavatory is recessed into the wall, and opposite each column was a moulded cross arch, of which the westernmost remains, to carry plain transverse pointed vaults, without ribs, which followed the main arches. The back of each bay is slightly sloped on plan from the middle of each main arch to behind the piers that carry them. Along the back wall was a chamfered ledge, still partly remaining, with a groove three inches wide on top to take the pipe that supplied the lavatory with water from a long row of taps. Beneath were the basins, segmental in form and very shallow, of which one remains, though not in position; these were carried on moulded capitals with truncated columns dying into deep-splayed plinths at the fronts and behind the piers of the main arches. The half-capital in the west corner remains in position, and some of the others, found loose, are temporarily placed near their original positions. There is a large hole in the middle bay for a waste pipe, and another near the east end."

In Plate XI. an attempt has been made to reproduce the lavatory as it originally appeared.

THE REFECTORY OR FRATER—THE PARISH CHURCH.

Some have doubtless wondered why Romsey Abbey was spared at the time of the suppression of the religious houses, whilst Beaulieu Abbey was destroyed.

The reason is that Romsey was then a town of considerable size, and its inhabitants were able to raise the sum of one hundred pounds, the price demanded by the King, and thus to save it for use as a parish church; whereas at Beaulieu the whole of the inhabitants, except a few, were "sanctuary men" and penniless, or nearly so. The Frater or dining hall of the monks, however, was fortunately spared, and reserved for use as a parish church and has so remained to this day. In monastic times it was entered from the cloister by a moulded doorway with

marble shafts, which latter have disappeared. The iron-work and part of the door are old (Plate XII.). The lancet windows above the doorway and the square light in the gable remain and the corbels carrying the cloister roof and its principals are still in position. The wooden belfry placed astride the roof is modern. The north end is now occupied by the vestries and over them is the gallery. This portion of the hall was probably in monastic days separated in some way and formed a passage and a serving room.

Entering the church from the vestry we see on the east wall six tall lancet windows each surrounded by a double moulded arch. Below them is a string course which is carried all round the hall. The centre of the three lancet windows at the south end, over the altar, is now blocked by the buttress erected in 1745, when, owing to a movement southward of the roof couples, the gable was thought to be in danger.

On the west side are : first, two lancet windows, similar to those on the east ; then the pulpit ; then, to the north, two more lancet windows. In Plate XII. the refectory is shown as it appeared when in use by the monks.

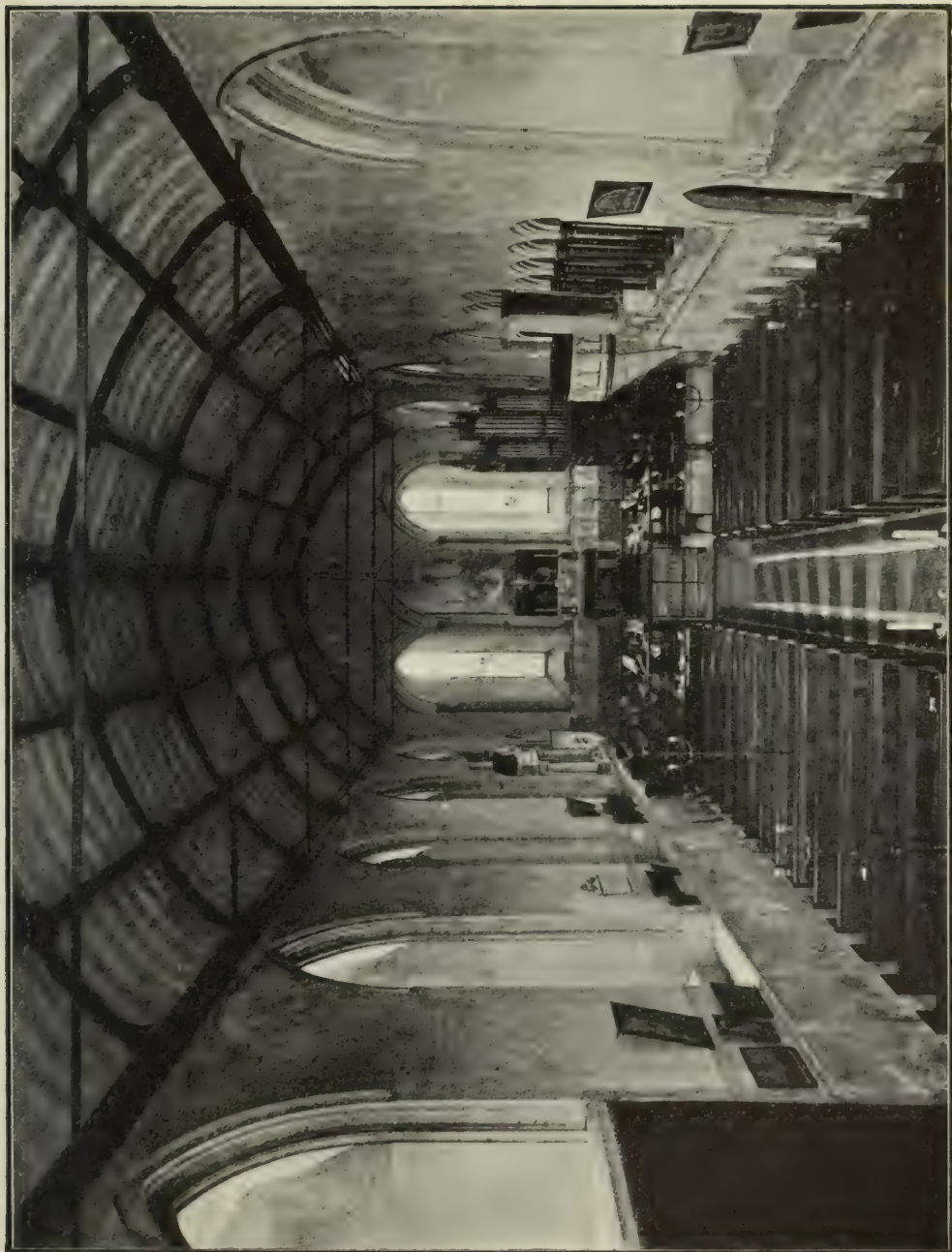
The pulpit is the feature of the church, of the greatest architectural and antiquarian interest, but its beauty has been somewhat impaired by injudicious alterations made subsequently to 1832. Another very beautiful example of a "Lector's Pulpit" exists at Chester, in a building formerly the refectory of the Abbey Church of St. Werburgh.

The use to which such a pulpit was formerly put is best explained by quoting the directions to the Reader—*i.e.*, the monk on duty :—

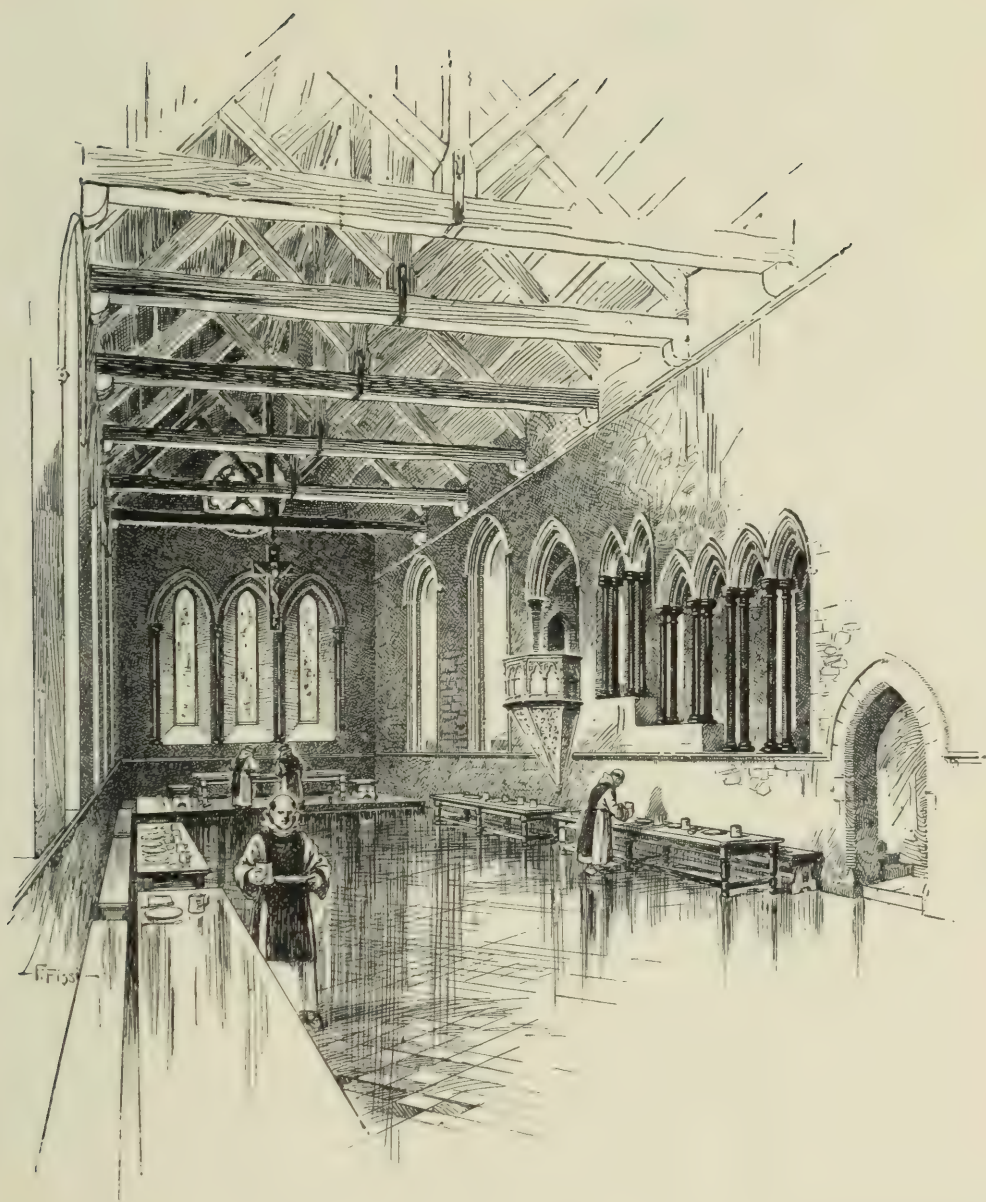
"Let the reader of the refectory, after prayers, carry the proper books into that apartment. Let him stand before the book with his face turned towards the east. When the brethren bow at the Gloria Patri and the



THE ENTRANCE FROM THE CLOISTER TO THE MONKS' REFECTORY, OR FRATER.



THE PARISH CHURCH.
View towards the South.



THE MONKS' REFECTORY (THE PARISH CHURCH).

Lord's Prayer, let the reader also incline himself, turning his face towards the assembly. The reader should not seat himself till the head of the convent is seated. Let him read historical books with a sonorous voice, but sermons and homilies with a more engaging one."

The proper demeanour of the brethren was as follows :—

"When we enter the refectory we should not behave idly, but demean ourselves with propriety, lest we be an offence to any of the brethren. It behoves us likewise to keep our eyes fixed when we are in this apartment, lest any occasion of murmuring, quarrelling or laughing be given ; according to the saying of the blessed Hugh of Lincoln, 'Let us have our hands and eyes upon the table, our ears with the reader and our hearts with God !' When we drink let us hold the cup with both our hands. It is improper for us to cleanse our mouths, or our hands, with the napkin, in the refectory. We should not put our platters from us till the president has put away his, nor let us roll up our napkins until the prior or abbat has rolled up his."

The special features of pulpits of this kind are their "corbel" form and the fact that the flight of steps leading to them is wholly contained within the thickness of the wall. The approach to the pulpit is through the door on the right, within which is a small lobby. Of the six pointed and moulded arches forming the arcade, the bases of the four lower are on a level ; formerly [*i.e.*, before 1832], the bases of the pair nearest to the door were lower than those of the pair next above them, and the arcade roughly coincided with the rise of the steps within. This was the original design and was certainly more artistic in effect than that which has superseded it. From the vaulted lobby eighteen steps of unequal rise, worn by the use of more than 650 years, ascend through

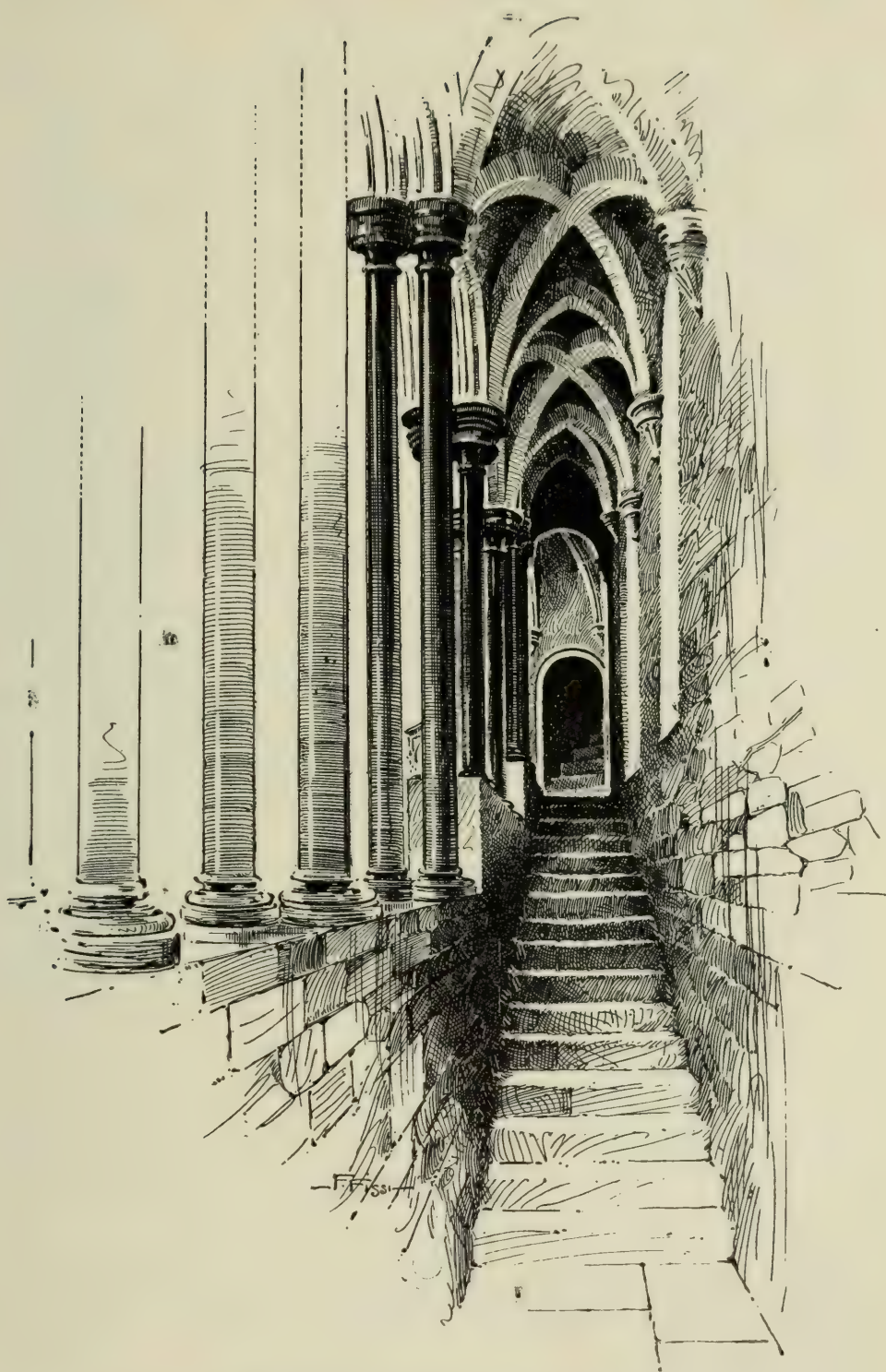
the narrow passage to the pulpit. The columns supporting the arches with their capitals and bases were all of Purbeck marble. The pulpit is semi-octagonal in shape and a "corbel" in form. Careful examination suggests that the panels of the corbel, which are decorated with leaf work, are of three different dates, but the greater part of this portion is undoubtedly thirteenth century work; probably it has at times needed and undergone repair. The parapet of the pulpit is of later date (cir. 1300) than the corbel upon which it rests; the original parapet was probably of wood; above the parapet there is a wooden moulding of still later date. The arch over the pulpit has the dog-tooth moulding on its inner order.

"At the back of the pulpit¹ is an early example of a traceried window, consisting of two trefoil-headed lights with a quatrefoil above. In the south wall of the pulpit lobby is a round-headed doorway. This leads to a small vice or circular stair, which once led up to the parapet—which surrounded the church—and may have been carried up as a little turret to hold the frater bell.

"The frater is covered by a wooden ceiling of segmental section, but somewhat obtusely pointed, with transverse and longitudinal ribs with carved bosses at the intersections. The ceiling is divided into eleven bays, with a narrower or half bay at the north end, and dates apparently from about the end of the reign of Edward III."

Externally all the buttresses on the east side of the refectory, and also that on the south side towards the east, are of the same date as the building; but the others to the south and the west are modern. The circumstances under which the huge and ugly buttress which

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 162.



THE STEPS LEADING TO THE PULPIT.

blocks the centre of the three lancet windows at the south end came to be built, in 1745, were as follows:—

“To the RIGHT HONOURABLE The COUNTESS OF CARDIGAN,¹ The HUMBLE PETITION of the TENANTS and INHABITANTS of the PARISH of BEWLEY,

“SHEWETH—

“That the Parish Church being an Ancient Structure is by time very much out of Repair, especially the Roof, that several times last Winter the Reading Desk and Pews were covered with Snow, and whenever it Rains are so wet, that they must inevitably run to Ruin, if not timely prevented, and as your Petitioners are not able to bear so great an Expence as such a Repair will amount to, most Humbly beg your kind Assistance, and we are ready to contribute to so necessary a Work, as far as our Circumstances will admit.

“We have caused Estimates to be made of the several things (we most Humble apprehend) necessary to be done, which are hereunto annex’d.

“The Gallery therein mention’d is what is much wanted, on account of the Farmers Servants and Common People having no Seats to set in, but are obliged to make use of the Chancell which is attended with very great Inconveniences. The whole we most humbly Submit to your Consideration & your Petitioners as in Duty bound will ever Pray.

HENRY ROBINSON, junr.,
Curate.

JOSEPH BIDDLECOMBE,
Churchwarden.

JOHN FIELDER,
ROBERT PINNICK, Overseers.

¹ Daughter and heiress of John, Duke of Montagu, and wife of George, Earl of Cardigan, who was subsequently created Duke of Montagu.

The Estimates "annex'd" amounted to £178 14s. 3d.

The Architect, who was unfortunately not consulted until too late, prepared plans "showing that for want of proper Braces, the Roof together with the Rafters have Inclined 14 Inches from their Perpendicular Bases and thereby Forced out the Gable Wall the same distance, which wall should be Rebuilt upright.

"A large new Buttress to secure the Gablend Wall. I must observe that when the Roof is well Secured with Braces, there will not be great need of this large Buttress, but as I found the Foundations of it already Lay'd down and Rised to the Hight of ye Plinth, I did not presume to stop the Workmen from Proceeding without Your Grace's Aprobation."





THE SERVING HATCH FROM THE KITCHEN TO THE MONKS' REFECTORY.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BUILDINGS OF THE ABBEY—(*continued*).

THE KITCHEN.

THE kitchen, which was apparently for the common use of the monks and the lay-brothers, was conveniently situated between their refectories. It was entered through the recessed doorway on the south side of the cloister, the site of which was indicated by some remains of the covering arch. There was also another entrance to it from the lane.

In the corner of the churchyard, north of the entrance to the vestry, is the serving-hatch from the kitchen to the monks' refectory; an illustration of this is given in Plate XV. The remainder of the building has been destroyed.

WESTERN AISLE OF THE CLOISTER.

Continuing along the cloister we enter its western aisle, a portion of it usually given up to the novices and their master. The corbels which carried its roof are here, as on the south wall, still in position. The door in the corner and the lower openings in the wall are certainly of later date.

The deeply splayed openings near the top of the wall were probably also made at a later date, to give light to a building which is shown in old engravings to have covered part of the adjoining lane. The northern half of the wall has been almost entirely destroyed, but, in a small portion of it which still remains near the church, there are some steps which lead down to the cloister,

showing that there was a communication here between the monks' cloister and the lane.

THE LANE.

Between the west wall of the cloister and the Cellarer's building is a lane 16½ feet wide. "At its northern end¹ is the seventh of the recesses in the church wall. The sill of this has been cut down, and in the back a doorway inserted, of two moulded orders carried originally by marble shafts, with foliated capitals and bases of the same material. The details of the doorway follow so closely those of that from the cloister into the church that it must be regarded as an afterthought and not a work of later date." (Plate XVII.)

Leading from the lane to the dormitory was a flight of steps, extending directly upwards from the ground level through the doorway on its western side. The lower part of this stairway has been converted into a double flight of steps, lying against the wall behind the fig-tree. These steps, although ancient in appearance, are really of quite recent date. The upper floor to the south was also approached from the lane by another flight of steps, of which no remains exist, but the jambs of the door of entry are still in position.

The stairway which now leads to the upper floor was erected in 1910.

Against the wall on the western side of the lane was a pentise supported by corbels.

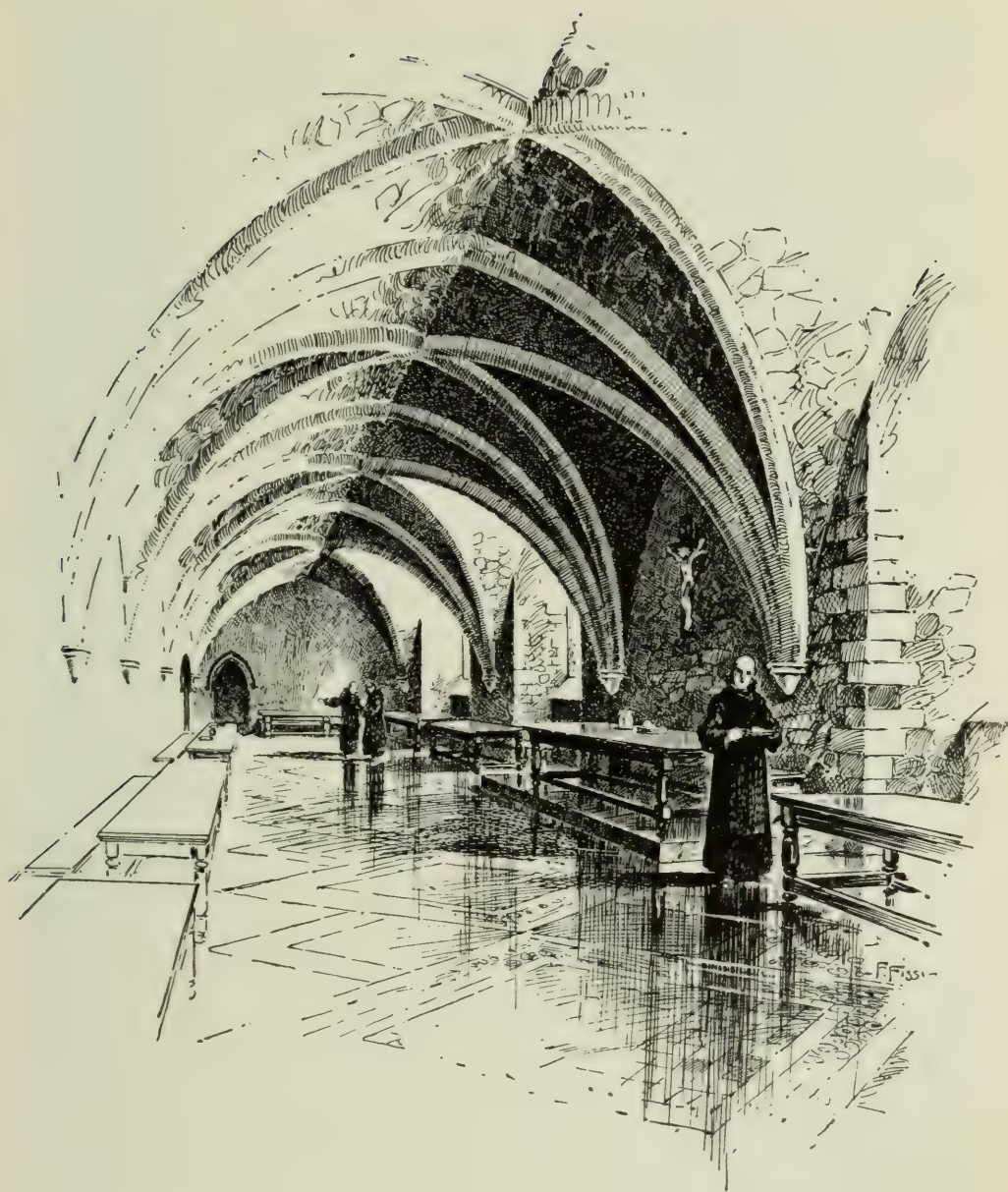
THE DOMUS CONVERSORUM (HOUSE OF THE LAY BROTHERS).

This building, to which the names *Cellarium*, Cellarer's Building, and Lay Brothers' Dorter are also given, originally consisted of two parts, divided by a passage

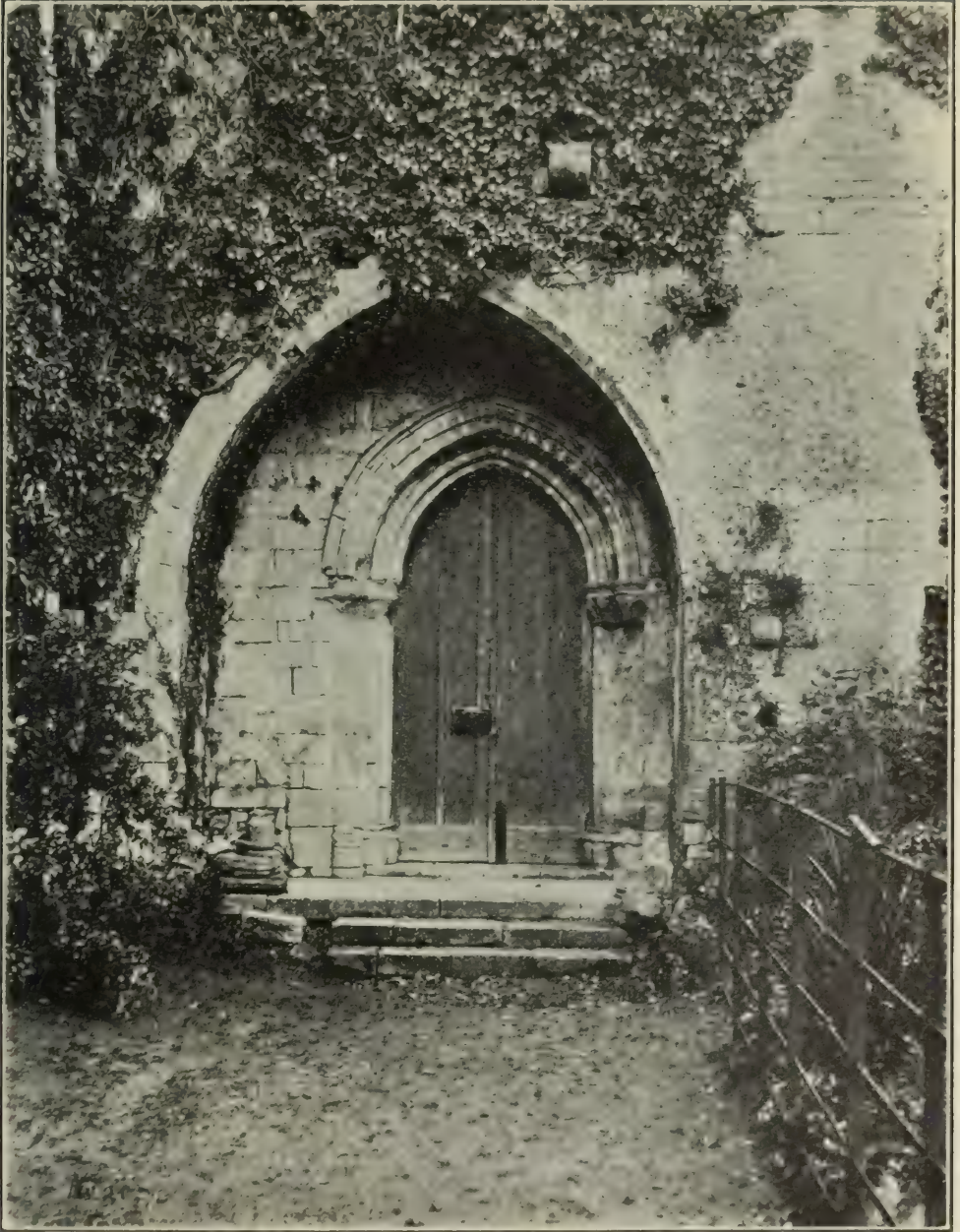
¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 163.



THE LAY BROTHERS' REFECTORY, OR FRATER.



THE LAY BROTHERS' REFECTORY, OR FRATER.



THE LAY BROTHERS' ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH FROM THE LANE.



THE LAY BROTHERS' ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH FROM THE LANE.

running east and west from the outer court of the Abbey to the lane. In the northern part, on the ground floor, was a vaulted cellar ; above this was the sleeping room of the lay brothers.

In the part to the south of the passage was the lay brothers' refectory, a vaulted room three times its present size, which is now used as a museum. The appearance presented by this room in the days of the lay brothers is shown in Plate XVI.

Above the lay brothers' frater, but on a higher level than the northern portion, was an extension of the lay brothers' dormitory still further to the south. Beyond the frater southwards were the latrines (Rere Dorter), opening into the large drain which is still visible, and, further to the south, was a one-storeyed building, which was probably the lay brothers' infirmary. It is through the ruins of this building, locally known as "The Drumway" (ridged, gnarled), that the visitor enters the Abbey.

"The Domus," as it is now invariably called, has served many useful purposes since the time when the lay brothers ceased to exist at Beaulieu. It probably was then converted into the Guest House, possibly, as elsewhere, it was in part the Abbat's Lodging. After the suppression it was subdivided and used as a dwelling-house by the farmer of the neighbouring land ; it has also served as a school-house and a carpenter's shop. Up to early in 1909 it was a lumber room, and at that date a favourite resort of owls ; they had no difficulty in gaining entrance, as but few panes of glass remained unbroken in its windows. (Plate XVIII.)

Its restoration was then undertaken by Lord Montagu, and to-day it may without exaggeration be stated that there is no such beautiful interior in any building of the kind in this country. It has what is called a tie-beam and purlin roof of oak, and an oak floor. The fire-place

and gallery above were added in 1910. The three upper steps of the flight at the north end are original, and were continued downwards through an arched opening into the church, to which the lay brothers were thus able to gain access at night. The greater part of the north wall is post-suppression work.

On the western side and at the northern end a new entrance was made to the building in 1910; this did not, however, destroy any part of the original structure, as the existence of the plinth of the buttress which supported the church—now in part seen from without and in part from within the Domus—shews that the Domus and the Church were not originally in structural connection on the west side, although they were so on the side abutting upon the lane. The foundations of a porch intended to have been built over the entry to the cloister are quite modern. The plinths of the buttresses towards the south, two of which are the basements of latrines, and the lower part of the windows similar to those of the lay brothers, *frater*, are still in position.

THE EASTERN BUILDINGS.

These constituted the Monks' Infirmary, viz., the infirmary hall, the chapel, and kitchen. The Misericord was also in this part of the Abbey.

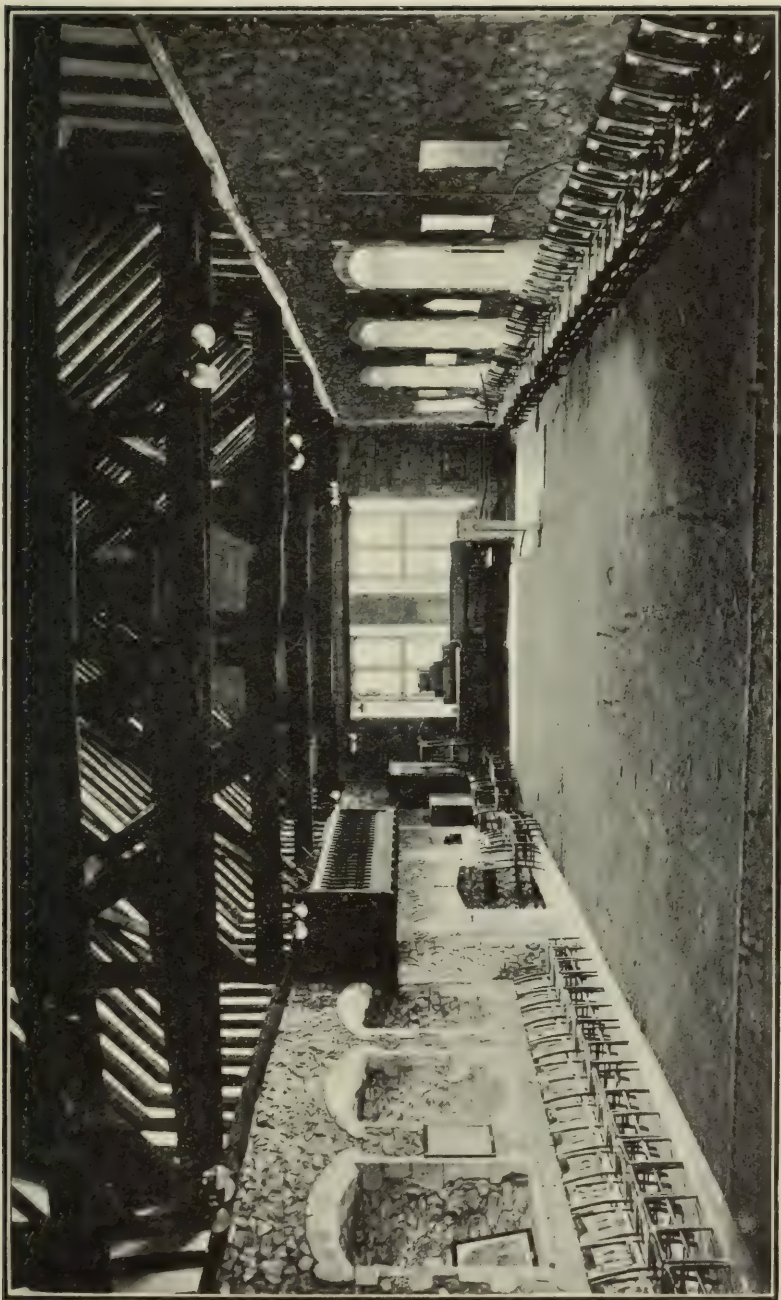
The outlines of these buildings have been traced and are now marked in white gravel in the turf; they are, however, hardly of sufficient general interest to require a detailed description.¹

The Misericord.—Up to the end of the fourteenth century "the Cistercians, together with other reformed Benedictines, adhered strictly to the rule of St. Benedict, which enacted that no flesh meat be eaten except by the sick,

¹ For this see Hope and Brakspear, *op. cit.*, p. 168.



THE DOMUS CONVERSORUM IN 1909.



THE DOMUS CONVERSORUM AFTER RESTORATION.
View towards the North.

and only by them during the time of their sickness.”¹ No alteration of this rule occurs in the Statutes of 1256, but within the next hundred years, owing to the granting of numerous pittances, and the degeneracy of monastic fervour, things had so far changed that the Cistercians were allowed, by a privilege of Pope Benedict XII. in 1335, to eat meat in the Infirmary and, by invitation of the Abbat, in his lodging. Further relaxation occurred in later years, so that by the middle of the fifteenth century it was the custom to partake of meat three days in the week, namely, upon Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, except in Advent, Septuagesima and Lent, and other seasons of fasting. But though meat was allowed as a permanent luxury, it was not to be partaken of in the frater, which necessitated the provision of a special hall for the purpose.² As the Infirmary was the place where meat was first allowed to be eaten, this hall was called the Misericord, from *misericordia*, “an indulgence.”³

THE NORTHERN BUILDINGS.

The Hospitium or “Le Lodging.” Within the walls of the monastery there was a building called “The Hospitium” or “Le Lodging,” to which were attached courts, gardens, and three acres of land. This is mentioned in the Ministers’ Accounts relating to Beaulieu, *i.e.*, the reports of the ministers sent round by the King at the date of the suppression of the monasteries to take an inventory of the lands and buildings.

The Hospitium was probably used for distinguished lay guests, as, although the Abbat’s abode was often called “The Abbat’s Lodging,” it was not known as “The

¹ Regula St. Benedicte XXXVI. “Monasticon Cisterciense,” 484.

² *Ibid.*, 552.

³ Hope and Brakspear, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

Hospitium." It was a detached building, and possibly stood upon the high ground near the modern kitchen garden of Palace House, as some foundations were found there about forty years ago (c. 1870) in draining, and also when the garden was made.

THE HOSPITIUM CALLED GAYNESFORDS.

Another building, also probably within the precinct, is referred to as "The Hospitium called Gaynesfords," but how it obtained that name is not known. As no grounds or gardens are mentioned in connection with it, it was probably the ordinary hospitium of the monastery.

The Abbat's Lodging was possibly in front of the house now occupied by the gardener, and east of the present church.

THE WINEPRESS.

Standing within the precinct, to the north of the Abbey church, are the ruins of a large building, which probably served the threefold purpose of a wine-press, a hay-loft, and a cellar. There are in Domesday Book eight references to vineyards, a proof that the grape was cultivated for the production of wine from early times. The land immediately to the north of this building has been from "time immemorial," and is still, called "The Vineyards," and "it is extremely probable that the first inmates of Beaulieu, coming direct from the wine country of Burgundy, would take advantage of the warm climate of their new possession for the preparation of their native drink, rather than content themselves entirely with the beer their brethren in less favoured sites were compelled to drink."

In Warner's "History of Hampshire" (vol. I., p. 250) we read :—

"The ruin behind the garden has hitherto been con-



THE WINE-PRESS.

sidered as the remains of the conventual church, but with great impropriety ; since I am persuaded it was erected for very different purposes than those of social worship. It comprised, in my opinion, the offices appertaining to the monastery ; and particularly the apartment in which the monks of Beaulieu manufactured their wine : for that they prepared this beverage themselves, I think may be proved beyond controversy. That it was designed for something of this kind is evident from a *dorsum*, or bank, which runs from it in a straight line, and northern direction, for about seventy yards. This, on inspection, has been found to be a ruinous aqueduct, which, communicating with a spring at a small distance from the building, conveyed into it a copious stream of water ; a circumstance which is quite unaccountable if we suppose it to have been a church."

Warner then gives numerous proofs that wine was manufactured from the time of the Emperor Probus, who introduced the vine into England, through Saxon times onwards to those of Richard the Second, and continues as follows :—

"But, after all, the strongest proof of the fact I wish to establish, is the name of some fields lying to the north of the building just mentioned, on a gentle declivity, and in a warm, southern exposition : these grounds are called even now "the Vineyards," and I am informed by Mr. Warner (the land steward of Lord Beaulieu, whose obliging communications I take this opportunity of acknowledging) that he has in his cellars at this hour a small quantity of brandy made about seventy years ago from the vines then growing on this spot."

As Warner's "History of Hampshire" was published in 1793, it follows that there were vines growing on the land then and now called the Vineyards about the year 1720. The only Cistercian wine-press of which there is any

record is that at Clairvaux, which was described in 1517 as being—

“A great hall for the wine pressing, and fermenting places in which there are several large tuns, one of which is square, containing from four score to a hundred hogsheads, and the descent is to be noticed from the vineyard which is behind the said fermenting place ; into this fermenting place for bringing the vintage to the tuns ;

“The wine goes by lead pipes into the tuns, which are in a cellar adjoining, in which cellar is a great tun containing 400 hogsheads of wine, that is, 30 feet round and 18 in height.

“Besides these is a great cellar, all vaulted in stone, where are innumerable tuns of wine for the use of the religious, and they pay each year for the yield of the vineyards of the same Abbey from 1,700 to 1,800 francs ; also there are in ordinary years 1,700 to 2,000 hogsheads of wine, and there are still other cellars and caves well furnished.”¹

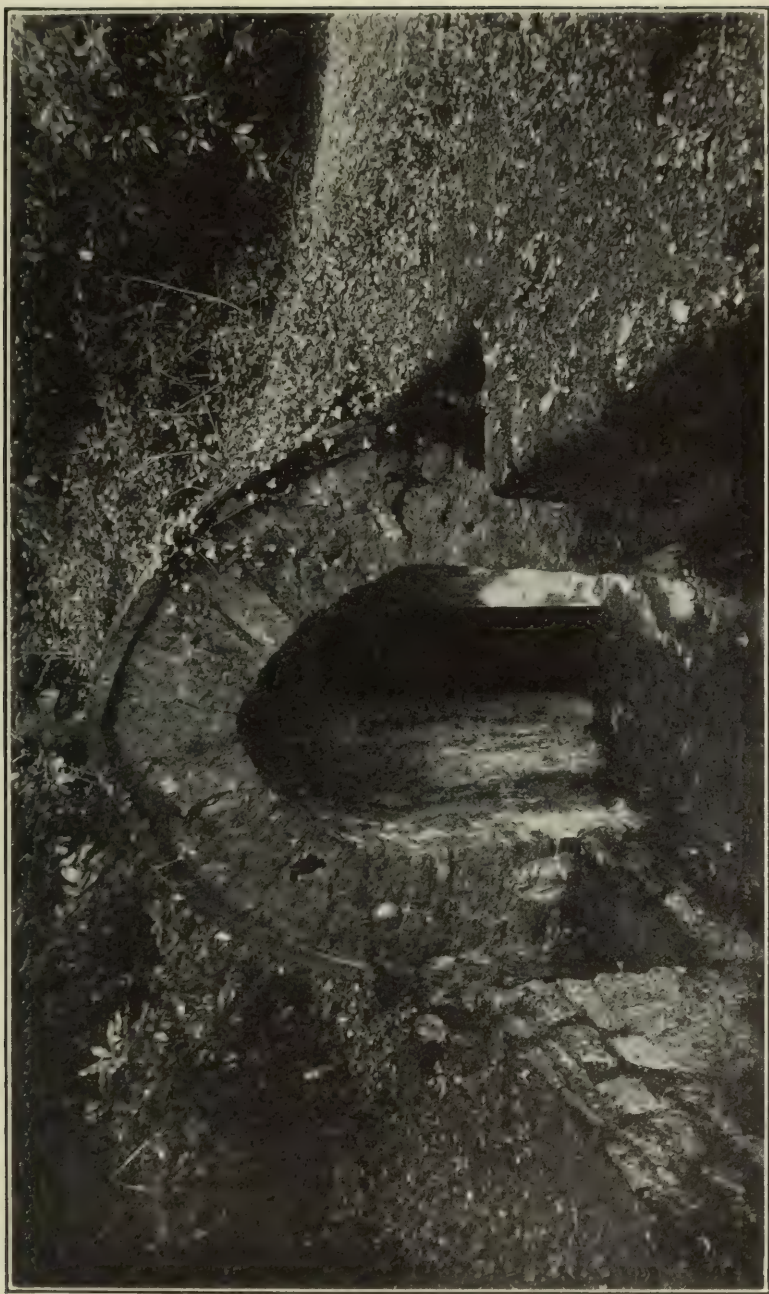
“Also² the plan of the Abbey about the seventeenth century shows the wine-press to have been some 70 feet by 40, with a great building at right angles to it for the storage of hay. This arrangement is very similar to the Beaulieu example, where the wine-presses and fermenting vats could have been in the northern wing with a cellar beneath and having ‘the descent from the Vineyard’ still remaining. The main part of the building would be the hay-loft above the great cellar for the storage of wine.”

“The building was originally 118 feet in length by 43½ feet wide, but was shortened in later days by 34 feet

¹ Didron, “*Annales archéologiques*,” III., 237.

² Hope and Brakspear, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

PLATE XXII.



THE MONKS' WELL.

at the west," and the ivy-covered gable with a central window on that side was then erected."

"The original was divided by wooden posts into a nave with aisles, six bays in length. Opposite each post on the north and south sides was a boldly projecting buttress with a chamfered plinth, and at the east end were two buttresses, larger than the side ones, opposite the lines of the posts. The whole was raised upon a wooden floor over a cellar which had two windows in the east wall, and probably stone piers to support the posts above. The northern wing was 60 feet long by $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and also raised upon a cellar. It was divided into three bays by buttresses."

THE MONKS' WELL.

In a romantic spot in Harford Wood, at the back of Hill-Top House, is the original well-house which protected from contamination the water supply of the monastery lying in the valley below. The springs from which the water is obtained have never, in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, failed to give to the Abbey and the village of Beaulieu a constant supply of pure water, the necessity for which the monks appreciated long before any other section of the community. The springs are mentioned in the confirmation charter of Edward III. as "the spring-head of the waters of Shireburn, that extend as far as the aforesaid Abbey of King's Beaulieu." Plate XXII. shows the appearance of the Monks' well as it is to-day and as it was in days gone by. Within the conduit house is a shallow circular pool of water, cool and clear as crystal, covered by a plain domed ceiling.

THE FISH PONDS.

If the sea trout fishing in the Beaulieu river from August to October was as good in monastic times as it

is to-day, there should have been no lack of fish at the Abbey during those months. There were doubtless also plenty of grey mullet and eels in the river then, and the following letter shows that the predatory pike was rather encouraged; for one may be quite sure that the servile Thomas Stevens would not have given Cromwell anything that was not worth having.

State Papers. Henry VIII. Vol. IX., 380.

1535, 16 Sept.—Harry Huttoft and John Mille to Cromwell.

“You shall receive by the bearer your pike which my lord of Bewley presented unto you at your departing. We beg your letters to your deputy in favour of your beadmen about Hampton, the abbats of Beaulieu; Quarre, Letley (*i.e.*, Netley), the priors of St. Denys, Southwyke and Motfount (*i.e.*, Motisfont). Hampton, Thursday after Holy Rood Day.”

It was not until the fourteenth century that the Cistercian statute against the eating of fish, except by the sick, was modified, and doubtless then the stew ponds, which may still be seen in the valley to the east of the Abbey, were made. Two streams there converge, and upon these six stew ponds were formed by placing dams across the valleys; there were in addition two larger ponds to the east of the Abbey, which were probably used for storing the fish.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE MAKING OF A MONK.—MONASTIC LIFE IN BEAULIEU ABBEY.—ROYAL VISITS TO BEAULIEU.

THE following interesting account of the ceremony observed in the making of a monk at Beaulieu is given in Collections for the History of Hampshire . . . by D. Y., with the original Domesday of the County . . . by Richard Warner, on page 59, of Vol. I.

The same fragment of antiquity¹ supplies a few other particulars relative to the domestic history and economy of Beaulieu monastery. The following extracts will throw some light on the ceremony which was observed when a layman was desirous of enrolling himself among the conventual ecclesiastics. The chapter being assembled, consisting of the abbat and all the monks, the candidate for the cowl addressed himself in the following humble manner to the company :—

“Syr,—I besyche you, and alle the convent heare assembled, for the luffe of God, our ladye Sante Marye, the blessed Jesu, Sancte John Baptiste, and all the hoolye compaignie of hevyne, that 3e wolde resave me, to lyve and dye heare among you, in the state of a monke as prebendarye, and servant unto alle, to the honour of God Almyte, solace to the convent, prouffet to the abbey, and helth unto my sawle.”

The petitioner was then examined as to his life, morals, and religion, and, if nothing objectionable appeared in

¹ Ex Cod. MS. apud Bib. Bod. Oxon. The authorities of the Bodleian Library are not able to identify this MS.

either, the rules of the Order, to the brotherhood of which he aspired, were read to him, and he promised to observe them in the following terms:—

“Syr,—I truste, through the helpe of God, and your gode prayers to kepe all these thynges whyche ȝe have now heare rehersed unto me.”

His noviciate, or year of trial, now commenced. If he passed through this period to the satisfaction of himself and the convent, another chapter was assembled, and a second petition read by the candidate.

“Syr,—I have been heyr now this twell month nere hand, and wvyche be God, me lyks ryght wel, both the order and the compaignye of the place; whereupon I besyche you and all the compaignie, for the luffe of God, our ladye Sancte Marye, the blessed Jesu, Sancte John Baptiste, and alle the hoolye compaignye of hevyne, that ȝe will resave mee unto my profession at my twell month day, accordyng to my petycion which I made when I was in the furste resaved amongs ȝou heyre.”

This being granted, the ceremony of *profession* was gone through, and on the appointed day the habit was received, and the candidate became a monk.

MONASTIC LIFE IN BEAULIEU ABBEY.

We can only realise the kind of life which was led by the monks of Beaulieu by knowing what it was in other Cistercian houses and by the regulations of that and other Orders. The Annals and Registers have been destroyed, and the history of the Abbey and its buildings, and of the life of the men who inhabited them for 334 years, from its foundation to its suppression, can only be gathered in a fragmentary manner from public records and other indirect sources of information.

Although when they took the monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and entered the Cistercian Order,



they put off as much of their human nature as it is possible for mankind under any circumstances to lay aside, they were still men and subject to the laws which govern the nature of human beings, from which it is beyond the power of any man to escape. They must have had their "good days" and "bad days"; times of triumph over the sins of the flesh and of failure; periods of sorrow and of exultation, quarrels and bickerings, and they doubtless strove with varying success against "pride, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness."

The belief that by the strict discipline of the senses and appetites it was in the power of man to perfect his moral nature and rise to heights in the spiritual order not otherwise attainable is of earlier date than the Christian era; but monastic life, as known to our forefathers in this country, owed its origin to St. Benedict, who wrote his "Rule" early in the sixth century, and upon the rules which he formulated, that life, almost throughout the world, has since been founded. In England, even before the coming of St. Augustine and his fellow monks, in A.D. 597, there existed a system of monasticism of Celtic origin, which had its chief seats in Iona (St. Columba), Wales, and Ireland. As we have already seen, the Cistercian Order arose from a desire to observe with greater strictness than was then in vogue the rule of St. Benedict.

Beaulieu Abbey formed the centre of a numerous and highly organised community whose daily and nightly round of duties, provided they were faithfully performed, left no opportunity for idleness and but little leisure.

It is a matter of some difficulty to give an accurate account of their ordinary daily life. This arises from various causes, not the least being that nearly all the writers who have essayed to describe the life led by the Cistercian monks differ as to the usual routine; indeed one high authority is inconsistent with himself, for, having stated

that "the chapter was held after tierce," on the following page he tells us that "after chapter all went to labour until the bell rung for tierce"! The routine doubtless varied at different periods, certainly in the early days of the movement it was much more severe in its requirements than it became later; it varied with the season of the year: whether summer or winter, on ordinary days and ferial (holy) days, with the seasons of the ecclesiastical year, Advent, Lent, Easter, &c. The variation in the names given to certain of the services, *e.g.*, vigils, matins, lauds, introduces another source of difficulty. The Cistercians divided the year into two seasons, summer and winter, the latter lasted from September 13th to Easter.

We are also told on high authority¹ that "the day and night were each divided into twelve hours, but they were not of constant length, such as we, whose time is regulated by mechanical clocks, are accustomed to understand by the word. The natural day and the natural night ruled the time, so that the hours varied in length from day to day. Those of the night were long in winter and short in summer, and those of the day the opposite, and it was only at the equinoxes that the hour was the same as ours."

To such a community the proposals of the Daylight Saving Bill would have appeared ridiculously moderate!

The above account is no doubt accurate, but it requires a little careful thought.

Day, as I understand it, was from sunrise to sunset, night from sunset to sunrise. Each of these periods of time was divided into twelve equal parts, called hours. As night is longer in winter than in summer, so each part or hour into which it was divided was long in winter and short in summer and vice versâ. I suspect that by the

¹ *Yorkshire Arch. Journ.*, vol. XV., p. 259. "The Cistercian Order," by J. T. Mickelthwaite, V.P.S.A.

date when the Cistercians arrived at Beaulieu they had discovered that a mechanical clock was very useful for marking the hours of the day.

The seven hours to be devoted to religious exercises were originally divided into seven separate offices—viz., vigils, prime, tierce, sext, none, vespers, and compline, each of which was commemorative of some act in Our Saviour's life or death, or in the Jewish ritual.

It must be borne in mind that an "office" is not necessarily a service to be attended in a church; some might be said when the individual was away from the monastery, perhaps at work on the land; the general tendency of the Cistercians was to diminish the number of the church services in order that more time might be available for agricultural pursuits.

The first service in most Orders was called matins, but by the Cistercians, following St. Bernard, it was known as *vigils*. In some Orders it was held at midnight, but with the Cistercians it appears to have commenced at about 2 or 2.30 a.m., and to have lasted for about three hours.

Those who have attended the office of the night, which began at midnight in the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, can hardly fail to retain a vivid recollection of it. A small lamp, high up near the roof, just sufficed to make the darkness visible; one by one the monks, with their heads covered by their cowls, entered, each carrying a lantern containing a single candle, which, when he arrived at his stall, he placed upon the desk in front of him, until, when all had assembled, the outlines of the church became just visible.

Only those visitors to whom the experience was novel, or whose musical taste was equal to the demands of a service of Gregorian chants, unaccompanied by music, remained to the end.

After *vigils*, except on certain days, the office for the dead followed, this was one to which the Order attached great importance. Such time as remained between that and dawn was devoted to reading or meditation in the cloister or chapter house. At daybreak the bell rang for a short office, by some called *lauds*, *matutinæ laudes*, "the morning praises," but by the Cistercians called *matins*.

In the summer half of the year it was always arranged so that there should be a short interval between *vigils* and *matins*.

Prime was sung at the first hour of the day, which would be about 6 a.m., in spring and autumn; *tierce*, about 9 a.m.; *sext*, about noon; and *nones*, at 3 p.m., followed at regular intervals. High Mass was said after prime on ordinary days, after tierce on feast days; on these latter days, a mass, called the Morning Mass, was sung after prime.

High Mass.—The community having taken their places in the church, the holy water and the salt were blessed, and the asperges, or sprinkling with holy water, was performed. High Mass was followed on Sundays by the procession, when in a certain definite order the various buildings were visited.

Then followed *the Chapter*.—Whilst the bell for this duty was tolling the community remained seated in church, except such as had been told off for the duty of seeing that all the doors of the cloister were fastened, as it was forbidden for strangers to enter the precinct during the holding of the daily chapter.

A procession was formed from the church to the chapter house, the juniors walking first; arrived there they stood in their places until the abbat entered and took his seat. The portion of the martyrology, which described the lives of the martyrs and saints to be commemorated

on the following day, was then read, and this finished, all stood up and turned to the *Majestas* or crucifix at the east end of the chapter house and remained standing during the recital of the preliminary prayers. These finished, the abbat said *Loquamur de ordine nostro*, "Let us speak about the affairs of our house." At this point the novices retired from the chapter room, and any stranger religious who happened to be present. This part of the daily chapter was kept absolutely secret, and those who were present were forbidden to speak to each other of what had occurred. Faults against discipline were then brought forward and considered, and the abbat gave his decision. The accused was allowed to speak in his own defence, but not to denounce his accuser at the same chapter. The accuser was not to repeat the charge unless called upon to do so. The abbat then addressed the community, when he thought it necessary, and the seal was affixed to any deed or charter that had been approved. Then followed the issuing of public letters of thanks or congratulations in the name of the community, and letters granting the privilege of the fraternity of the house to benefactors, &c.

When the actual ceremony of granting this favour was performed, the presence of the novices and lay brothers was allowed, and the open arches at the west end of the chapter house rendered it possible for them to hear and observe the proceedings.

Candidates for profession and monks for ordination as priests were required to attend before the chapter; benefactors were commemorated, and brothers who had died were remembered on their anniversary, and mortuary rolls announcing the death of monks of other houses were read. The duties assigned to each monk were recorded on the *tabulæ*, and were read out in chapter. The business being finished, the chapter adjourned, and conversation was permitted in the parlour.

Dinner.—From Easter to Whitsuntide the monks dined after *sext*, and the same for the rest of the summer half of the year, except that on Wednesdays and Fridays they dined after *nones*. During the winter half of the year they dined after *nones*, except in Lent, when dinner followed *vespers*, which office was fixed at an hour sufficiently early to allow of the meal being finished by daylight.

After dinner the community returned to church to say grace.

Then came an interval for recreation, or, in summer, a siesta in the dormitory.

The Daily Work.—The work of the monastery was done between twelve and five in winter, and one o'clock and six in summer.

Vespers followed at the earlier or later of those hours, according to the season, and immediately afterwards *supper* was eaten in the refectory, when there was such a meal, viz., from Easter to September 14th. At other times it was served only on great feast days: it was never taken on vigils and fast days. Grace in church followed, then the community went into the cloister to await the summons to collation, which was a reading, not a meal.

Collation and Compline.—Collation in the chapter house was at 6.30 p.m. in winter and 7.30 in summer. It was a short service, consisting of a reading from the Bible or some other book, and after an interval compline was said at 7 or 8, according to the season of the year, followed in half an hour by bed.

It was only possible by a very complete organisation, and by a knowledge on the part of all concerned of the duties which fell to the lot of each one, that such an elaborate system of services could be carried on without hitch or failure.

The daily allowance of bread for each monk was a pound, and of beer or wine about a pint and a half.

Two dishes appear to have been served at dinner, but in the degenerate days which followed the decline of monastic fervour we read of *sixteen* being the daily portion !

Mixtum was an extra allowance of a quarter of a pound of bread, and one-third of a measure of drink—about half a pint—taken by the reader and the younger monks, and those who had served in the refectory. On week days in Lent and on Rogation and Ember days, and certain vigils, *mixtum* was not served.

The following table, which is probably fairly correct, may make the daily life of the monks more readily intelligible :—

2 a.m. until about 5 a.m.—Vigils : Commemoration of
the Dead.

Interval in cloister.

Daybreak.—Matins, or Lauds.

Followed by—Prime, and then High Mass or Morning
Mass.

About 8.30 a.m.—*Mixtum* or breakfast.

9 a.m.—Tierce, followed by High Mass on
Feast Days.

About 9.30 a.m.—Chapter.

11.30 or noon.—Sext, followed by dinner.

1 p.m. to 5 p.m.—Work. Nones at 3 p.m.

5 or 6 p.m.—Vespers, followed by supper.

6.30 p.m.—Collation.

7 p.m.—Compline.

8 p.m.—Dormitory.

It is to be understood that this is not intended to represent a fixed rule, as it was certainly subject to frequent variation.

Each monk in turn was required for a week at a time to undertake certain duties, including that of cook ; but we may be reasonably certain that a community to whom sixteen dishes were served at dinner did not entrust the

cooking of them to an amateur. Other monks were appointed permanently for the performance of such offices as required a special aptitude. The *cantor*, or precentor, was the singer, chief librarian, and keeper of the archives or records; the *succentor* was his deputy and assistant. The *sacrist* and his assistants were in charge of the fabric of the church, the sacred plate and vestments, the shrines and relics. The injunctions as to cleanliness given to them and to all other officers in charge of any vessels, whether sacred or domestic, were most rigid.

The *cellarer* was responsible that the community were properly supplied with food and drink: a very important charge. He had the control of all the servants, whom he engaged, and could punish and dismiss. The *refectorian* was in charge of the refectory, and saw that the meals of the community were properly served.

The duties of the *kitchener* are more than suggested by the name. He was enjoined to "have a sparing hand in supplying his own needs, and a prodigal one where others were concerned." The cooks and servers in the kitchen were naturally placed under his charge.

The *infirmarian* was in charge of the sick, to whom he was enjoined to minister with special kindness and care. Following the custom of those times, the monks were bled at regular intervals. February, April, September, and October were the months appointed for the proceeding, and some, it may be hoped, were fortunate enough to find a sufficient excuse to escape from the clutches of the infirmarian, who was the appointed operator.

The *almoner* was responsible for the distribution of the gifts of the community to the poor, and the selection of those from amongst them who were to be honoured by having their feet washed by the abbat. He also acted as schoolmaster and attended to the mortuary rolls, *i.e.*,

the notices of deaths which were sent to other monasteries by the hands of the *breviator* or letter carrier. The *camerarius*, or chamberlain, attended to the wardrobe of the community, and the *master of the novices* had charge of those young men who desired to enter upon the religious life.

This list does not include nearly all the officials who might be named, but one must not omit *the Guest Master*.

The *Guest Master* was an important official charged with the duty of receiving and attending to the wants of the many guests of varying degree, who in those days used the abbeys as we nowadays use an hotel or inn.

ROYAL VISITS TO BEAULIEU ABBEY.

The Guest Masters were not infrequently called upon to provide for the entertainment of kings and their numerous attendants, who must often have left behind them an empty cellar. We shall see that King Edward I. was not unmindful of this, for he ordered the keeper of his wine at Southampton to send to Beaulieu a tun, to replace that which was drunk "the last time when we visited there."

King John.

The founder visited Beaulieu, doubtless, to observe what progress was being made with the building of the abbey, on May 19th, 1206. He was then on his way from Cranbourne to Southampton, whither he went on the following day.

On Tuesday, December 18th, 1212, King John, coming from Corfe Castle by Wareham and Christchurch, arrived at Beaulieu, and left for Winchester on the Wednesday.

On March 18th, 1213, the King arrived at Canford from Corfe; on the 19th he left for Beaulieu, where he remained the following day, leaving on the 21st for Southampton.

Henry III.

Letters on the Close Roll are dated from Beaulieu during the reign of King Henry III., on 13th March, 1213; the 10th and 11th January and the 20th December, 1235, from which it is known that the Court was then at Beaulieu Abbey.

On the occasion of the dedication of the abbey, 17th June, 1246, the King, Queen Eleanor, the King's eldest son Edward, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, Exeter, and Chichester, and many barons were present. The young Prince was taken ill and was nursed by the Queen for three weeks. The admission of a woman to the Abbey, being contrary to the statutes of the Order, was, at the next visitation, partly the cause of the deposition of the prior and cellarius, who were held responsible for having given the Queen permission to remain; but they were also guilty of having at the time of the dedication allowed meat to be eaten by secular persons, which was also contrary to the statutes.¹

Edward I.

The King visited Beaulieu and issued letters from there on January 24th, 25th, and 27th, 1275, and on August 29th, 1276. In the same year "John de la Croyze came before the King at King's Beaulieu on Monday the eve of St. Giles." The King was also at the abbey on October 21st and November 15th, 1285; and a deed enrolled 14 Ed. I. is dated King's Beaulieu, 5 kal. Decemb.

¹ "Annal. Mon." (Rolls Series, 36), ii., 337.

1285. On September 6th and 9th, 1293, the King again visited the abbey.

Edward II.

The King paid a prolonged visit to the abbey in 1325, when the Court was in residence there from April 5th to April 27th. The King was also at Beaulieu on February 4th of the same year.

Henry VII.

King Henry VII. was at Beaulieu on August 18th and 19th, 1489, and he again stayed at the abbey on August 19th, 1499, being then on his way to Southampton.

Henry VIII.

In the first year of the King's reign he visited the abbey and remained there for a week, August 7th to 13th, 1509.

This concludes the list of Royal visitors to the abbey during monastic times.

Edward VI.

The young King stayed at Beaulieu on his way to Christchurch on August 17th, 1552, the year before his death.

James I.

James I. was at Beaulieu on four occasions, each visit being during the month of August—viz., August 14th, 1613; August 1st, 1619; August 15th, 1620, and August 15th, 1621.



CHAPTER XV.

A MITRED ABBEY. THE ABBATS OF BEAULIEU.

IT is somewhat doubtful whether the Abbey of Beaulieu was a mitred abbey; tradition favours the view, but the documentary evidence is not conclusive. From the time of King John to that of Edward III. the Abbat was frequently summoned to Parliament, indeed almost continuously so from 1307 to 1325.¹

In 1341 the then Abbat, William de Hameldon, obtained, by fine of ten marks, the King's sanction to be free from attendance at Parliament: he had therefore been summoned during the period when that privilege was reserved to mitred abbats, and the Abbey must at that time have been recognised as possessing that distinction.

"Tradition reports that the Monastery of Beaulieu was formerly numbered among the *mitred abbeys*, that is, such as enjoyed the honour of sending their abbats to assist the King in his great council. On consulting, however, the list of mitred abbeys in Fuller's 'Church History,' the name of Beaulieu does not occur; those mentioned therein were only twenty-six in number, and are supposed to have been as follows:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. St. Alban's. | 7. Colchester. |
| 2. Glastonbury. | 8. Wesham. |
| 3. St. Austin's, Canter-
bury. | 9. Winchelcombe. |
| 4. Westminster. | 10. Crowland. |
| 5. Edmundsbury. | 11. Battaile. |
| 6. Peterborough. | 12. Reading. |
| | 13. Abingdon. |

¹ Palgrave's Parl. Writs. II., Div. III., p. 343.

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|------------------------------|--|
| 14. Waltham. | 22. Malmesbury. |
| 15. Shrewsbury. | 23. Cirencester. |
| 16. Gloucester. | 24. St. Mary, York. |
| 17. Bardney. | 25. Selbye. |
| 18. Bennett in the
Holme. | 26. The Prior of St. John's
of Jerusalem, first
and Chief Baron of
England. |
| 19. Thorney. | |
| 20. Ramsey. | |
| 21. Hide. | |

"Previous, indeed, to the reign of Edward III. (at which era the right of attending the national council was confined to the heads of the above-mentioned religious houses) most of the monasteries of any note in the kingdom were allowed the privilege of sending their respective superiors to Parliament, and it is extremely probable that Beaulieu, amongst the rest, might *then* be represented by its abbat, which well accounts for the idea of its having been a mitred abbey. But when the policy of Edward III. diminished the enormous weight of the Church in the national council, by restricting the number of ecclesiastical senators, it seems likely that Beaulieu, an abbey situated at a distance from the usual seat of the council, might either voluntarily relinquish its ancient right, or lose it by a stretch of royal prerogative."¹

THE ABBATS OF BEAULIEU.

But for the thoughtful care with which the Register of Newenham Abbey in Gloucestershire and the Annals of Waverley were kept, we might not have known even the names of the men who ruled over this community.

One of them at least, Abbat Hugh, appears to have achieved distinction, and others were men of some mark

¹ D. Y. and Richard Warner, *op. cit.*, vol. I., p. 62.

in their day. An ecclesiastic who attained a high place in the Court of King John was probably skilled in diplomacy, and not too rigid in his views to be of use to a monarch who was usually engaged in a struggle, either with his neighbours in France, his barons at home, or the Pope at Rome. So long as monastic zeal lasted we may reasonably believe that the abbats did their duty, ruled wisely, and tried to keep their house in order; but it can hardly be doubted that in the 15th and 16th centuries, if not at an earlier date, they allowed grave abuses to creep in, and themselves sealed their doom.

At the dissolution in 1538 the community at Beaulieu consisted of the abbat and twenty other monks.

Lest it be thought that the spelling of the word abbat adopted throughout this book savours of pedantry, we may urge that it is so spelt in all contemporary records and in Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*."

Hugh, First Abbat.

Elected, 1204. Died, .

Dugdale in the Appendix to Newenham Abbey gives a list of the abbats of Beaulieu in which the first and second both bear the name of Hugh. Subsequent writers have generally followed him, but neither he nor they give any authority for the statement, and if there were two so named nothing appears to be known of the first, except that he arrived at Beaulieu with the community "*circa festum Penthecostem*," A.D. 1204.

As Beaulieu was a Royal foundation, it would be natural that the first abbat chosen to rule over it should be a man of decided character, and abbat Hugh certainly was so. I therefore think it more probable that there was only one abbat of the name.

*Hugh, Second Abbat.**Elected,¹ . Died, 1223.*

In April, 1208, Abbat Hugh received a Royal passport for himself, his servants, and five horses to cross the sea at Dover, on a mission to Rome. In May of the same year the Pope sent a monition to King John, to fulfil his promise, given to the Abbat of Beaulieu, to receive the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury and make due restitution; and again, in August, he instructed the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to warn and induce the King to carry out at once various promises made to the Abbat of Beaulieu.

Hugh was again sent by King John as envoy to Rome, in 1213, with John, Bishop of Norwich, Brother Alan Martel, H. de Boevy (Bova), and P. de Mauley.

In 1215 the Abbat exhibited articles against the Archbishop of Canterbury at the fourth Lateran Council.

Abbat Hugh was also frequently employed by Henry III. on missions to the Court of Rome and elsewhere.

He was elected as Bishop by the Prior and Convent of Carlisle, and the King gave his Royal assent to the election on August 1st, 1218. The sheriffs of Cumberland and Notts were commanded to cause the elect of Carlisle to have as full seizin of the lands and tenements pertaining to the See as Bernard, Archbishop of Slavonia, formerly Custor of the same bishopric, had, when he obtained the custody thereof from King John. The King, moreover, restored the revenues of the bishopric, of which it had been deprived by negligence and otherwise. He was confirmed by Gualo, the apostolic Legate, August 2nd, and consecrated by him 24th February, 1218-19.

¹ MS. Harl., 6957, p. 8.

The following reference to the event is from the *Annals of Waverley*, 1218, p. 185:—"The Lord Hugh, formerly Abbat of King's Beaulieu, was made Bishop of Carlisle with the approval of Gualo, the Legate, on condition of deposing him if afterwards it appeared that it might be looked upon as if adverse to the jurisdiction of the Order if he should be promoted to be a bishop."

The events preceding the election of Hugh, Abbat of Beaulieu, to the Bishopric of Carlisle are of considerable interest. The Council of King Henry III. in 1216 informed the Pope that the canons of Carlisle had sinned against the authority of the Roman See; had sworn allegiance to the King of Scots, the enemy of the realm of England and of the Pope, and had, contrary to the wishes of the King and the Apostolical Legate, an ex-communicated clerk. They, therefore, prayed the Pope to remove these schismatical canons and appoint prebendaries in their places and augment the revenues of the diocese.

The King, writing to the Pope (Honorius III.), describes the Bishop thus: "Whom we truly represent as a man eminent in all ways, as well as by his knowledge of letters as by dignity of manner, and, what we are the better able to commend, by his ever ready devotion to the Holy Roman Church, and by fidelity towards us many times proved" (*Close Roll*, 3 Henry III. M. 11th.) The Bishop of Carlisle was one of the sureties for the King in his treaty with Alexander, King of Scotland, in 1220, when Alexander agreed to marry one of the King's daughters.

Bishop Hugh probably built the choir of Carlisle Cathedral.

In 1822 he was sent by the King to the Council of Verona, and was allowed 30 marks towards his expenses.

He was taken ill at the Abbey of La Ferté, in Burgundy, on his return from Rome, and died on the fourth day of

his illness, 4th June, 1223, and was buried in that abbey (*vide* also p. 147).

Alcius de Gisortio or Gisors.

Elected, . . . *Died,* . . .

Abbat Alcius was much engaged in diplomacy, and was sent by the King to France in the first year of his appointment.

In A.D. 1246 he sent the first convent to Newenham, in Devonshire, to build the abbey there. This was the first daughter house of Beaulieu. The names of the convent are given on p. 177, under Newenham Abbey.

*Dionysius or Dennis.**

Elected, . . . *Died,* A.D. 1280.

Dionysius was frequently abroad on business connected with the Abbey. In 1274 he had the King's licence to cross the seas, and appointed two brother monks to act as attorneys during his absence, until the Feast of All Saints. He attended the general chapter of the Order on many occasions.

He changed the first convent at Newenham, and sent a second fraternity there. In a document written by him in 1261, in reference to Hailes Abbey, he describes himself as "Visitator Immediatus" of that monastery.

William de Gisortio or Gisors.

Elected, 9th May, 1281. Was Abbat in 1292, 20 Edw. 1.

William de Gisortio was cellarius (cellarer) at the time of his election, at which the Abbats of Waverley and Thame were present. In 1282, 1285, and 1286 he attended the general chapter, which was opened at Citeaux every year on September 14th.

*Robert de Boclonde.**Elected, . Died, .*

The King wrote letters dated at Westminster, 13th April, 1305, on the death of King John of France, desiring the Bishops, Abbats, &c., to have solemn masses sung devoutly with other prayers for his soul. Among the Cistercian abbats are named those of Quarr, Leteley (Netley), Dunkewell, and King's Beaulieu.

*Peter de Chichester.**Elected.* (Abbat, 2 Edw. II., 1307.) *Died, .*

Abbat Peter gave the great image of the Virgin above the high altar at Newenham Abbey.

*William de Hameldon.**Elected.* (Abbat, c. Edw. III.) *Died, .*

Was a doctor of divinity. Licence from the Bishop of Winchester to receive the benediction from any Catholic Bishop was given to William de Hameldon on 7th September, 1340.

This abbat, whose predecessors since 1260 had sat in Parliament, obtained in 1341, by fine of 10 marks, the King's sanction to be free from attendance at Parliament.

Abbat William de Hameldon gave a reredos with six images for the high altar of Newenham.

*Walter Herying or Herring.**Elected,* 22nd August, A.D. 1372. *Died,* January 6th, A.D. 1390 (15 Ric. II.).

King Richard II. agreed to issue bonds in acknowledgment of the loans of the clergy and the nobles for the conduct of his wars, and made promise of payment on St. Martin's in the winter on a King's word. The letters are dated from Westminster, 6th March, 1379, and among

the persons to whom they are addressed is the Abbat of Beaulieu, Hants, £40. The order of payment is dated 20th January, 1382.

In 1386 the King again borrowed money and assigned bonds for the repayment of the loans out of the dismes or tithes, fifteenths, subsidies, &c. Amongst those who had lent the King money is the Abbat of Beaulieu, £40.

Patent Roll. Ric. II., p. 3.

The Abbey of Beaulieu in the Diocese of Winchester, of the Cistercian Order, being left without a pastor by the death of Walter Heryng, late abbat of the same, is unable to make due election because the Cistercian abbat being a schismatic, the King has committed the custody of the said Abbey to Thomas Earl of Kent and Tideman of Winchecombe, monk of the Cistercian Order.

Tideman de Winchecombe.

Elected, 18th August, 1392 (17 Ric. II.). *Died*,
10th June, 1401.

Formerly of Hailes Abbey, co. Salop. He was physician to Richard II. By virtue of a *congé d'élire* issued 5th July, 1393, he was elected Bishop of Llandaff, and obtained the Royal assent to his election 18th August, 1393.

He had a grant of the custody of the temporalities 24th October, 1393, and they were restored to him 3rd July, 1394.

On 25th January, 1395-6, the Bishop was translated from Llandaff to Worcester by the Pope, and was there installed in the presence of the King, who had attended his previous installation at Llandaff.

On 21st July, 1396, the custody of the temporalities of the See of Worcester was granted to him. He died 10th June, 1401, and was buried at Worcester.

*Richard de Middleton.**Elected*, 22nd April, 1394. *Died*, .

On the 12th January, 1395, a licence was granted by Bishop Wickham to Simon, Bishop of Accaden (?), to give the benediction to Richard Middleton, lately elected Abbat of Beaulieu.

Patent Roll. 20 Richard II. Part II., Mem. 1.

1397, March 16.—Appointment of Roger Walden, treasurer of the King, and Guy Mone, keeper of the Privy Seal, to the custody of the Abbey of Beaulieu, co. Southton, and all its possessions, taken into the King's hand on account of the great dissensions therein between persons pretending to be abbats of that house; without being bound to account for the issues thereof.

Further, they are to summon litigants for the position of abbat before them or either of them or their deputies, hear their reasons, inspect their evidences, and bring them to an agreement.

Patent Roll. 20 Richard II. Part III., Mem. 13.

1397, May 20.—Acceptance by the King of John Gloucestre as Abbat of Beaulieu Regis, to which abbacy Richard de Middleton laid claim; in accordance with the decision come to by William de Waverley of the diocese of Winchester, Hermann de Stratford of the diocese of London, John de Wardon of the diocese of Lincoln, John de Coggeshale and John de Boxleya of the diocese of Canterbury, William de Woburn and John de Rewley of the diocese of Lincoln, Abbats of Monasteries of the Cistercian Order, appointed to inquire touching the rival claims, and also appearing in person in the Royal presence in Windsor Castle, declared in his favour.

John Gloucester.

Elected, May 20th, 1397. Died, .

Richard de Middleton.

Restored to Office A.D. 1400.

William Sulbury.

Elected, c. 1424. Died, .

He was appointed, 1st May, 1424, by King Henry VI. as one of his proctors and envoys to contract a treaty of alliance with Alphonso, King of Spain. The other envoys were Sir Walter Pole, Kt., and John Blodwell, D.C.L.

William Woburn.

Elected, c. 1429. Died, .

On 14th February, 1436, writs¹ were issued by the Council requesting loans for the equipment of the army about to be sent into France. There is named "L'abbe de Beaulieu."

Humphrey.

Elected, c. A.D. 1490. Died, .

Thomas Skevyngton or Pace.

Elected, . Died, 1533.

Was of Skevyngton or Skeffington, Co. Leicester, a novice in the Cistercian Convent of Merevale, Co. Warwick, and became a student in St. Bernard's College, Oxford. He was previously Abbat of Waverley.

Abbat Thomas Skevyngton was consecrated Bishop of Bangor 17th June, 1509, but continued to hold the Abbey of Beaulieu *in commendam* until his death. He was appointed Archdeacon of Merioneth April 6th, 1524.

¹ Cotton MS., Cleopatra F. VI., p. 290.

“Richard, E. of Cornwall, gave a Cell of Cistercian Monks at St. Kevians in Cornwall to the Abbey of St. Marie’s, Beaulieu. When two of Cardinal Wolsey’s servants unjustly seized upon some of these lands, Thomas, Bishop of Bangor and Abbat of St. Marie’s (*i.e.*, of Beaulieu), pleaded so well that they were restored.”

He built the bell tower and the nave of his cathedral in 1532. He is said to have been a constant resident at Beaulieu.

At his death in June, 1533, his heart was buried at Bangor, but his body at Beaulieu, under a tomb near the place for reading the Gospel.

John Browning.

Elected, A.D. 1509. Died, March, A.D. 1536.

The late Abbat of Beaulieu appears to have been unpopular with the King, because he did not preserve the game in the Royal Forest. The Abbat of Waverley, on the other hand, had a very good reputation for preserving the game in the Forests of Wolmer and Windsor and around his house.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, therefore, recommended John Browning to Cromwell, as “a virtuous man, a clean lyver, and a good husbonde (man),” whom he had described as such to the King himself, with the additional recommendation of “always having bene good to the Kinge’s game near unto his house.”

The King shortly afterwards appointed the Abbat of Waverley to be Abbat of Beaulieu, and we may hope that as a result His Majesty had better sport in the forest than he had enjoyed during the time of Abbat Skevyngton.

The *valor* of 1535, when John Browning was abbat, gave the gross annual value of Beaulieu as £428 6s. 8¼d. and the nett value as £326 13s. 2¾d.

Thomas Stevens.

*Elected, March, 1536. Surrendered the Abbey,
2nd April, 1538.*

He was elected on the death of John Browning, being at the time Abbat of Netley. Thomas Stevens has been rightly described as "a time-serving wretch." In a letter dated 17th April, 1538, from Crayford, one of the subcommissioners for the suppression of monasteries, to Thomas Wriothesley, he states that Abbat Stevens, immediately before the surrender, let out the mill and parsonage at Beaulieu, and also the lodge at St. Leonards, to his sister for a nominal rent.

On April 26th, 1538, Stevens, in a letter to Thomas Wriothesley, protests against "the detraction of his lewd monks which now, thank God, I am rid of." They had probably been telling the truth about him. In other letters he is shown to be trying to ingratiate himself with Thomas Wriothesley by obtaining a horse which he required, and also with Cromwell by the gift of a pike, for which Beaulieu was celebrated. April 2nd, 1538, Thomas Stevens and 20 monks signed the deed of surrender of Beaulieu Abbey. He received a pension of £66 13s. 4d. In February, 1540, Thomas Stevens was instituted to the Rectory of Bentworth, near Alton, vacant by the deprivation of John Palmes, who was most unwilling to submit, and on March 1st, 1540, wrote a letter of complaint to Lord Cromwell to the effect that "his cousin Cooke with gentlemen and farmers of Sir John Wallop's tenants assembled upon S. Matthias Eve (Feb. 23) and inducted the abbat quondam of Beaulieu, and, with great violence and blows given, entered into the parsonage and sealed up the barn doors and hired men with money to jangle and ring the bells above all measure and custom of a charitable induction, whereof great clamour and

wonder is of men in the whole shire, so that my name and estimation is clean gone and destroyed in all this disturbance at Bentworth."

In 1548 Stevens was collated to the treasurership of Salisbury Cathedral.

He died in 1550. Further references to Abbat Stevens will be found in Chapters XIX. and XXII.



CHAPTER XVI.

TRAVEL AND DIPLOMACY.

THE Abbats of Beaulieu in the reigns of King John and Henry III., and at a later period, were frequently abroad, either engaged upon the business of the King or in attendance at the annual meetings of the Grand Chapter of the Order. King John often made use of the services of his beloved and faithful Abbat Hugh as one of his envoys to the Pope and to the King of France. The Abbat of Beaulieu was usually summoned by the King to Parliament as a baron, but sometimes obtained exemption from attendance. Annual visits to the daughter houses would also entail their absence from time to time.

“When the abbat had been away from the monastery for more than three days it was the custom for the brethren to kneel for his blessing and kiss his hand the first time they met him after his return. When business had taken him to the Roman Curia or elsewhere for any length of time, on his home-coming he was met in solemn procession by the entire community, who, having presented him with holy water, were sprinkled in their turn by him. They conducted him to the high altar chanting the *Te Deum* for his safe return, and received his solemn blessing.” (Gasquet’s “Monastic Life,” p. 51.)

The following extracts indicate the date and occasion of some of the journeys of the Abbats of Beaulieu:—

Close Roll. 7 John (1205). *Mem.* 2.

The King to G., son of Peter, &c. We command you that you cause the Abbat of Beaulieu to have 60 marks,

which he expended in our service at the Court of Rome. Witness ourself at Meleburn, the 9th day of March.

Close Roll. 7 John (1205). Mem. 16.

The King to W., Treasurer, &c. We command you that, as you love us, immediately on the sight of these letters without any charge and delay, you deliver to the Abbat of Beaulieu 107½ marks to go on our message to the Chapter, and deliver to him 50 marks of our gift, which are in arrear to him and his house. Witness ourself at Dorchester, the 26th day of August.

Patent Roll. 8 John (1206). Mem. 3.

The King to all merchants to whom, &c. Know ye that whoever shall loan to H., Abbat of Beaulieu, and Thomas de Ardinton, and Amfridus de Dene, our envoys, whom we have sent to the Court of Rome upon our business, 500 marks, we will pay the same fully to him or his messenger, bringing these our letters, together with the letters of the aforesaid messengers testifying the sum of that loan; and to this we bind ourselves by these our letters patent. Witness, Lord F., Bishop of Winchester, at Rockingham, 20th day of February, in the 8th year of our reign.

Patent Roll. 8 John (1206). Mem. 2.

The King to all his beloved friends, his venerable men, the notaries and chaplains of the lord the Pope, &c. We render to you many thanks for that in our business to be promoted in the Court, you have freely given aid and counsel to our envoys, who themselves greatly praise you. We are also sending again to the Court our faithful Abbat of Beaulieu, Thomas de Ardinton, and Amfridus de Dene, asking most attentively your love to the end that

you will help them in promoting the business of the Church of Canterbury according to our dignity and the custom of our kingdom oftentimes declared to you, so that from being devoted we may become more devoted to you. Witness, Lord P., Bishop of Winchester, at Rockingham, 20th day of February.

Patent Roll. 8 John (1206). Mem. 3.

The King to all merchants, &c. Know ye that whoever shall lend money up to the sum of 40 marks to our beloved and faithful H., Abbat of Beaulieu, whom we are sending on our business to the Court of Rome ; we will pay that money to him or to his certain messenger bringing these letters to us with the letters of the same abbat testifying that loan ; and we bind ourselves to this by these our letters patent. Witness, P., Bishop of Winchester at Niort, 25th day of August, in the 8th year, &c.

Patent Roll. 9 John (1207). Mem. 5.

The King to the Bailiffs of the Port of Dover, &c. Provide passage to the Abbat of Beaulieu with five horses and his men, whom we are sending on our affairs, and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer. Witness, the Lord P., Bishop of Winchester at Waverley, the 4th day of April.

By the same, in the 9th year of our reign.

Close Roll. 14 John (1212). Mem. 3.

The King to W., the Treasurer, and G. and R., Chamberlains, &c. Pay from our treasury to the Abbat of Beaulieu, going to Rome, 30 marks of our gift, and 30 marks to him for payment of his wages, so that he shall get a grant of aid of 100 marks made to him in the Court of Rome, and 40s. to him to buy a palfrey.

Patent Roll. 15 John (1213). Part I., Mem. 8.

Letters of credit to be made to the envoys of the Lord the King going to Rome.

To all merchants seeing these letters, &c. Know ye that whosoever shall lend to our beloved and faithful H., Abbat of Beaulieu, whom we are sending to the Court of Rome upon the business of the Lord the King, up to the sum of 100 marks we will cause the aforesaid money to be rendered to him without delay who shall bring with him these letters patent of the aforesaid abbat testifying that that loan was made to him. And in witness whereof we send you these our letters patent. Witness ourself at the New Temple of London, 8th day of January, in the 15th year of our reign.

(These letters are made triplicate because of the dangers of the sea.)

Close Roll. 15 John (1213). Part II., Mem. 7.

The King to the Sheriff of Kent greeting. We command you that you cause the Lord John Bishop of Norwich, Abbat of Beaulieu, Peter de Maulay, whom we are sending on our affairs, to have ships to cross the sea into Flanders, and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer. Witness myself at Marlborough, the 28th day of August, in the 15th year of our reign.

3 Henry III. (1219). Part II., Mem. 8.

The King to E., the Treasurer, and F. and R., Chamberlains, greeting. Pay from our treasury to the Abbat of Beaulieu and to Master Thomas de Litchfield, going on our affairs into France, 10 marks for expenses. Witness, Lord P., Bishop of Winchester, at Westminster, the 2nd day of May, in the 3rd year, &c. By himself and the Justice.

Close Roll. 6 Henry III. (1222). Mem. 2.

The King to E., the Treasurer, and F. and W., the Chamberlains, greeting.

Deliver out of our treasury to Hugo, Bishop of Carlisle, going to the Council, which will be assembled at Verona in the Feast of St. Martin next coming, in the 6th year of our reign, on our affairs, 80 marks, and to Henry Luvel, going there, 40 marks, and to Peter Sarracen, going there, 10 marks, and to Master Stachis, going there, 10 marks, for their expenses. Witness H., &c., at Westminster, the 19th day of October, in the 6th year of our reign.

Close Roll. 9 Henry III. (1225). Part I., Mem. 6.

The King to the Sheriff of Kent greeting. We command you that you cause the Abbats of Beaulieu and of Robert's Bridge, going on our affairs, to have one good ship to cross the sea to Graveling, and the cost which you have put to this shall be computed to you at the Exchequer. Witness the King at Westminster, 6th day of April.

Close Roll. 9 Henry III. (1225). Part II., Mem. 12.

For the Bishop of Carlisle and his associates.

The King to Henry of St. Albans and to Alexander de Dorset greeting. We command you that out of the issues of our exchange, which is in your keeping by our command, to cause the Abbat of Beaulieu to have 20 marks for his expenses in the parts across the sea to which we have sent him, and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer. Witness the King at Westminster, 29th day of May, in the 9th year.

Close Roll. 10 Henry III. (1226). Part I., Mem. 21.

The King to E., the Treasurer, and to his Chamberlains greeting. Pay from our treasury to our beloved Abbat

of Beaulieu, going on our affairs to the Legate of France, £10 for his expenses, and to brother Simon, Canon of Bayham, going on our affairs into parts across the sea, 5 marks for his expenses. Witness ourself at Westminster 21st day of March.

Same Roll. Mem. 19.

The King to E., the Treasurer, and to his Chamberlains greeting. Pay from our Treasury to brother William, Monk of Beaulieu, going on our affairs into parts across the sea, 2 marks for his expenses. Witness the King at Westminster, 3rd day of May.

Close Roll. 10 Henry III. (1226). Part I., Mem. 10.

The King to E., the Treasurer, and to his Chamberlains greeting. Pay from our Treasury to brother William, Monk of Beaulieu, going on our affairs to the Legate of France, 10 marks for his expenses. Witness the King at Westminster, 4th day of July.

Close Roll. 3 Edward II. Mem. 25.

30th July, 1309.—Order to permit the Abbat of Beaulieu to pass the sea with £10 and with his retinue in order to attend the Chapter General at Citeaux. (Fœdera.)

Close Roll. 4 Edward I. Mem. 11d.

24th May, 1276.—Power to make attorneys in place of the Abbat of King's Beaulieu, who is going abroad by the King's licence.

*Chronicles of Enquerrand de Montrelet. Chapter XXXVI.
Vol. V.*

In the French Chronicles, Paris, 1826.

1425.

In the year above mentioned there were sent from Paris to Rome to our Holy Father the Pope, on behalf

of the two Realms of France and England, certain ambassadors, that is to say, for the Kingdom of France, the Abbat of Orchamp, doctor in theology, and two knights; and for the kingdom of England, the Abbat of Beaulieu with two knights, for summoning to the said Pope, as they had been summoned to the last General Council at Constance, in order that he might convene and assemble a council to perfect and accomplish the things which had not been perfected at the last council, by notifying him that it was very prolonged, and that it was contrary to the purpose of the Universal Holy Church.



CHAPTER XVII.

THE BUSINESS OF THE ABBEY.

THE needs of such a community as occupied the Abbey and its granges were almost as varied as those of the inhabitants of Beaulieu village are to-day, and to meet them all a very elaborate organisation was necessary.

The *cellarer* had to keep a careful eye upon the stores of corn, flour, meat, fish, and vegetables, and to visit the granges, fairs, and markets where they were to be obtained. The supply of beer, wine, and fuel was entrusted to him, also the carriage of goods and of the materials necessary for the repairs of the monastery, such as wood, iron, glass, and nails.

The *granatorian*, one of the cellarer's assistants, had charge of the mill and the bakery, the miller and baker being under his orders.

Part of the duty of the *refectorian* was to purchase the cheeses, table-cloths, towels, napkins, jugs, dishes and mats used in the refectory and elsewhere. At regular intervals he was supplied from the farms with straw upon which the brethren placed their feet when sitting at the tables, and with hay and rushes to cover the whole of the floor.

Bay leaves were scattered about on Holy Saturday to scent the air, and in summer flowers with mint and fennel to purify it.

Other officers were charged with the supply of lamb-skins and cat-skins to line the habits of the brethren in the winter, and of salt for curing them ; of candles, soap, and all the materials for shaving,—a very important and ceremonious operation ; of boots and pig's fat for keeping

leather boots soft and waterproof and a great variety of other requisites of such a community.

One of the most important services which an abbey, and especially one of the Cistercian Order, rendered to the neighbourhood in which it was placed, was in bringing increasing areas of land under cultivation and in carrying on and promoting in a variety of ways the interests of agriculture. The extent of the farming operations at Beaulieu may be judged by the enormous size of the tithe barn at St. Leonards, which is 226 feet long by 77 feet wide.

The references in the following extracts, from the Rolls and other documents, to horses, cattle, pigs and sheep, ploughs and teams for ploughs, all illustrate this side of the business life of the abbey and bring it home to one in a more interesting manner than can be afforded by any description :—

Close Roll. 6 John. Mem. 19D. No Section.

In the memoranda :—

The King to all the Abbats of the Cistercian Order, &c. We request you more carefully to the end that in the sight of God and of us you give assistance to our new Abbey of Beaulieu in the New Forest, which we have founded there of your Order, to stock it with beasts. And whatsoever every of you shall have done therefor for it they shall signify to us by these letters. Witness, &c., at Worcester, the 16th day of August, in the 6th year.

By the Treasurer of the Chamber.

Close Roll. 6 John. Mem. 21. Section 226.

The King, &c., to G., son of Peter, &c., greeting. We command you that you cause our monks of Beaulieu to have 30 sacks of corn at Warham to stock their abbey

and cause that corn to be led thither by sea, but you shall not give them money but only corn. Witness ourself at Ilchester, the 8th day of July.

By P. de Rupibus.

Close Roll. 6 John. Mem. 16.

The King to Reginald of Cornhill, Amfridus de Dene, James Savage, and P. de Lyons, keepers of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, &c. We command you that immediately on the sight of these letters you cause the Abbat of Beaulieu or his certain messenger to have 150 quarters of corn as near the sea as you can where it may easily be carried up to his abbey, because we have given the same to him and to his house. Witness as above.

Close Roll. 6 John. Mem. 11. Sec. 99.

It is ordered to William de Bracas that he cause the monk of Beaulieu, the bearer of the letters of our Lord the King, to have 100 cows and 10 bulls.

Close Roll. 6 John. Mem. 10. Sec. 79.

Order to William de Breuss that he cause to be delivered to the monk, porter of Beaulieu, 20 cows and 2 bulls. Witness the Abbat of Ford.

Close Roll. 9 John (1207). Mem. 13.

The King, &c., to the Archdeacon of Stafford, &c. We command you that you cause the Abbat and monks of Beaulieu to have three cart-loads of corn in the Manor of Thaddeham, which is of the Bishoprick of Exeter, saving the seed of the lands and the food of the servants. Witness W. Brewer, at Westminster, the 10th day of October. By the Archdeacon of Huntingdon.

Same Roll. Mem. 12.

The King to H., Archdeacon of Stafford, &c. We command that you cause the Abbat of King's Beaulieu to have three plough teams of those which were of the Bishop of Exeter. Witness ourself at Waltham, the 30th day of October. By the Abbat of Bindon.

Patent Roll. 9 John. Mem. 4.

The King to all, &c. We command you that you maintain and defend our monks of King's Beaulieu and all their men crossing through your bailiwicks to buy sheep and other store for his house, neither doing nor permitting any injury or hurt to be done to them therein, and if anything by them thereof has been forfeited you do cause it to be restored to them without delay. Witness ourself at Winchester, the 2nd day of January.

Close Roll. 9 John. Mem. 11.

The King, &c. to H., Archdeacon of Stafford, &c. We command you that you cause the Abbat of King's Beaulieu to have the price of oxen for three plough teams and three cart-loads of corn of the Manor of Cheddeham, which is in the Bishoprick of Exeter, and it shall be accounted to you at the Exchequer. Witness ourself at Marlborough, the 25th day of November, in the 9th year of our reign.

Patent Roll. 10 John. Mem. 1.

The King to all, &c. We command you that you permit the carts of the Abbat of Beaulieu bringing corn and other necessary things to him from his Manor of Farendon unto Beaulieu to return, not doing or permitting to be done any injury or hurt to them or to his men who shall have led them. Witness ourself at Lound, 10th day of April, in the 10th year of our reign.

Close Roll. 1 Henry III. (1217). Part I., Mem. 22.

The King to the Keepers of his stud in the New Forest greeting. Know ye that we, for the safety of the soul of our father Lord John of good memory, formerly King of England, have given to our beloved in Christ the Abbat and monks of Beaulieu all the issue of our stud which is in your keeping until we complete the 14th year of our age. And so we command you that you may deliver that stud to the same abbat and monks. We will also that for the aforesaid term they shall have the custody of the aforesaid stud. And because we have not yet a seal, &c. Witness the Earl Marshal (Earl of Salisbury) at Winchester, the 15th day of March.

Close Roll. 5 Henry III. Part I., Mem. 21.

The King to Henry of Lyndhurst greeting. We command you that you permit the Abbat and monks of Beaulieu to make without hindrance a certain ditch between our forest and the land which Lord John the King our father gave them in the same forest. Witness the Bishop of Winchester at Westminster the 7th day of November, in the 5th year of our reign.

6 Henry III. Part I., Mem. 16.

The Lord the King granted to the Abbat of Beaulieu that he should have "for life" a fair every year at his manor of Farringdon for two days during the eve of St. Luke the Evangelist and on that day. Unless that fair, &c. And it was commanded to the Sheriff of Berkshire that he should allow him to hold that fair. Witness H., &c. at Westminster, the 26th day of January, in the 6th year of our reign. By the same.

Close Roll. 7 Henry III. Part I., Mem. 4.

For the Monks of Beaulieu.

It is commanded to John of Monmouth that he should permit the Abbat and monks of Beaulieu to have their animals and pigs to pasture in the New Forest as they had them in the aforesaid forest in the time of Lord John the King until we shall command otherwise. Witness H., &c. at Winchester, the 17th day of August.

9 Henry III. Part II., Mem. 10d.

It is commanded to the Justices, &c. in the county of Berks that they cause to be observed to the Abbat and monks of Beaulieu their liberties granted to them by the Lord John the King, &c. contained in a charter of the same father of the Lord the King which they have thereof especially, as after the aforesaid charter was obtained by them the Justices have not journeyed from the time of the same father of the Lord the King.

Close Roll. 8 Henry III. Part I., Mem. 2.

For Durandus the Mason.

The King to the Bailiffs of the port of Southampton greeting. Durandus the Mason has shewn us that when he came into England at the command of the Abbat of Beaulieu to work there, you seized 21 burillos¹ of his which he brought with him into England. And so we command you that if the aforesaid abbat will warrant the aforesaid Durandus to have come at his command into England as is aforesaid, and that the aforesaid burillos are of the same Durandus, then you shall cause them to be delivered

¹ Burillos, borel, or burrel = a coarse brown or grey woollen cloth made in Normandy as well as in England, "The Record Interpreter," Martin's Edition. The nature of the "burillos" brought by Durandus the Mason is, however, somewhat doubtful.

without delay. Witness the King at Westminster, 17th day of October.

Close Roll. 13 Henry III. Mem. 5d.

12th Aug., 1229.—The King desires the Abbat of Beaulieu that he allow 500 hurdles to be made in his wood of Suberton for the King's ships and for bridges.

Close Roll. 14 Henry III. Mem. 14.

14th Feb., 1230.—Writ to the Sheriff of Wilts that he allow the Abbat of Beaulieu reasonable aid for the men of Farendon, which was a demesne manor of the Kings of England.

Close Roll. 15 Henry III. Mem. 21.

3rd Nov., 1230. Writ to John of Monmouth that he allow the oxen and sheep and other animals of the Abbat of Beaulieu to have free ingress and egress to his pasture in the New Forest of the King as they formerly had before such ingress was denied to the abbat, until the King commands otherwise.

Close Roll. 8 Henry III. (1224). Part II., Mem. 9.

For Henry de St. Albans.

It is commanded to the Bailiffs of Southampton that they permit Henry de St. Albans to have two ships of the ships which are in the port of Southampton for his salt which is at Beaulieu to be taken to London or elsewhere where he may wish. Witness the King at Bedford, 10th day of July.

Before the Justices.

Close Roll. 18 Henry III. Mem. 2d.

1234.—Fulk Fitzwarin and the Abbat of Beaulieu for not permitting the abbat to have his custom of saltpan in Wanetnigh.

The "salterns," into which the salt water was admitted and in which it was allowed to evaporate, may still be seen on the low-lying ground between Salter's (*i.e.*, Salterns) Hill Farm and Ginn's Farm, not far from the mouth of the Beaulieu river.

"The Saltern proper was a large tract of perfectly flat land, divided into shallow ponds, about twenty feet square, by low mud banks about six inches high, just wide enough for a man to walk upon with caution. Into these the water was baled, by large wooden scoops, from ponds which had caught the salt water at high tide; and here it lay, evaporating more or less quickly, according to the favourable or adverse weather. In various parts of the works were small windmills, about twelve or fourteen feet high, which, whirling with the continual and varying sea breezes, pumped the water into different sets of pans, as it approached nearer to the condition of brine, and at last lifted it into large cisterns, whence it ran, by gravitation, into the boiling-houses. These latter were merely large brick-built sheds, with low weather-beaten walls, upholding a wide expanse of tiled roof, under which were the pans and furnaces. A cloud of steam filled the boiling-house when working; salt impregnated the air; and the roads all around were black with coal-ashes from the furnaces, which had for generation after generation been incessantly burning."¹

"Sixteen weeks boiling was the general season average, and each pan made about three tons of salt per week, burning nineteen bushels of coal for each ton. A *drift* or *turn* took eight hours, after which the pan had to be cooled, emptied, and cleaned. Sixteen drifts made a week's work, which extended from Sunday night to Saturday morning."²

¹ E. King, "Old Times Revisited," p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

The foregoing account of the salt manufacture relates to Lymington, but the process followed there was the same as at Beaulieu. Out of 5,000 tons of salt about 140 tons of Epsom salts were also obtained. The actual value of the table salt was 1s. per bushel; but the Government duty, which up to 1740 was not heavy, was at that date increased by 5s. per bushel; in 1840 the duty was no less than 10s. per bushel.

Close Roll. 25 Edward I. Mem. 5.

20th Sept., 1297.—Order to the Bailiff of Southampton and others appointed to take wool in that county for the King's use, to restore to the Abbat and Convent of Beaulieu ten sacks of the thirty lately brought by them from the abbat and convent for the King's use, as the King has granted to them that they shall have ten sacks to make cloth for their own use.

*Edward I. Inquisition ad quod damnum. File XXX.
No. 15.*

6 April, 27 Ed. 1.—Writ to the Sheriff of Southampton to inquire whether it would be to the damage or prejudice of the King or of others if the King should grant to the Abbat and Convent of King's Beaulieu 60 acres of waste within the metes of his forest of the New Forest, to find ornaments and other necessities for the high altar of the church of St. Mary in the same place, so that the same might be inclosed by a ditch and hedge and converted to arable land, and the same so inclosed and converted to arable land may be able to hold to them and their successors for ever—or not?

The Inquisition and return to this writ was taken at Holebury in the New Forest before the Bailiffe of the same forest on Wednesday in the feast of St. John, *ante Portam Latinam*, 27 E. 1.

Who say it is not to the damage or prejudice of the King nor of others if the King grant to the said abbat and convent that they may inclose 60 acres of his waste within the metes of the aforesaid forest at Notlege next Holebury, so that they may be inclosed with a ditch and hedge according to the Assise of the Forest.

Close Roll. 2 Edward II. Mem. 2d.

25th June, 1309. The King to the Abbat of Beaulieu Regis. Order to provide the King with a strong horse not (*evitum*) for carrying the rolls of the Chancery, sending the same to the Chancery so that it be at Stamford on Sunday after the Feast of St. James the Apostle, to be there delivered to J., Bishop of Chichester, the King's Chancellor, certifying to the King by his messenger bringing the horse what he has caused to be done in this matter. (Parl. Writs.)

Close Roll. 11 Edward I. Mem. 5.

28th Aug., 1283.—Order to Escheator to make appraisement of the hay and corn in the Manor of Inglesham taken into the King's hands by reason of the death of the tenant in chief, who has demised it to the Abbat of Beaulieu at farm for 5 years, and to deliver the hay and corn to the abbat.

Close Roll. 3 Edward I. Mem. 22.

9th Feb., 1275.—To the keeper of the town of Southampton. Order to buy a tun of wine in that town for the King's use and to cause the Abbat of King's Beaulieu to have it in recompense for the tun that he received from the keeper at Beaulieu for the expenses of the King's household when the King was last there.

Patent Roll. 9 Edward I. Mem. 6 (14).

26th Sept.—Protection and safe conduct to a ship belonging to the Abbat and Convent of Beaulieu frequently carrying to the ports of Gascony and elsewhere grain and other their goods, and bringing back thence wines and other their goods to their own ports for purposes of trade, and to the men and goods therein. Dated Lindehurst.

Exchequer T. R. Forest Proceedings, 165.

Claim of the Abbat of King's Beaulieu made and allowed at the castle of Southampton before Robert de Offord and others, Justices in Eyre for pleas of the Forest in Co. Southampton, on Thursday, on the morrow of St. Leonard (7th Nov.), 5 Edward III., A.D. 1331.

The abbat claims to hold to him and his successors all his tenements as well in wood as in plain as well in fee of King, as of others acquired and to be acquired, deafforested, and out of all power of foresters, verderers, regards, and of all bailiffs. He also claims common of pasture for all his animals and of his men except goats in the New Forest and La Bere; that he may have all manner of wild beasts in his close; as much turf and brushwood as he requires for the sustentation of his abbey; fees and amercements, fines and redemption of his men for whatsoever cause due or forfeited; that no justices, sheriffs, escheator, constable, forester or bailiff shall enter into his lands or fees or of his men; that he may be quit of all amercements and enclosures; and that he may use all these and any other liberties granted him notwithstanding any misuse or non-user.

The abbat asked by what warrant he claims says:—

As regards the disafforestation of his lands it was granted by King John and confirmed by King Henry;

the common of pasture by King Henry and also the taking of wild beasts and the taking of turf and brushwood. He also sets up the Charter of King Henry as to fines and amercements, and that no justice, &c. shall have power of entry into his lands ; the Charter of King John granting that the monks may be quit of all amercements, and the Charter of King Henry granting he shall not lose his liberties through non-user.

And, moreover, the King, holding the aforesaid charters firm and established, confirms the same.

Therefore the liberties and rights aforesaid, according to the tenor of the charters of gift and grant and confirmation, are allowed to the said abbat and monks and their successors, saving always the King's right in all things.



CHAPTER XVIII.

LAW AND ORDER.

THE Abbats of Beaulieu were provided with a powerful weapon for the maintenance of order and the punishment of their enemies in the shape of a sentence of excommunication, which in mediæval times carried with it disabilities of a very serious nature, such as we, in these days, can hardly realise.

“The following formula is the sentence of excommunication, in old English, which occurs in the above-mentioned MS.,¹ and is inserted there as a precedent for the Abbat of Beaulieu whenever he might have occasion to wield that dreadful weapon :—

“By the auctorite of Almyghtye God, and our blessyd Sancte Marye and of all the compaignye of heven, of angelis, archangelis, patriarkes, prophetes, apostolis, evangelistes, martyres, virgins, and confessors ; and also by the powere of the al hoolye church, that our Lord Jesu Christ gave to Sancte Petor, prince of the apostolis, and to her successores in God, and by auctorite of this present maundate, direct to me, and us, we pronounce *A. B.* openlye, and absolutelye, to be accursid and dampnid : soe that he be depertid from God, and hoolye chirche, and have no merit of Cristes deth, and hoolye passion, nor of no sacramentes that be don yn hoole chirche, nor parte of prayers or gode deeds among christen peple ; but that he shal be of God accursid, slepyng, wakyng, stondyng, sytting, goyng, etyng, fastyng, and yn al other werkes ; and yf he have not grace of

¹ Ex. Cod. MS. Bib. Bod. Oxon. MS. not identified.

God, to come to gode amendment here in thys lyfe, he shal dwel in the endless paines of hel for ever, withowten end. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat. Amen. Amen. Amen.”¹

Truly a terrible curse. History does not record whether it was ever used, or if the result in any way resembled that produced under somewhat similar circumstances, when, as all will remember, “Nobody seem’d one penny the worse !”

The abbats and their men were not free from those imperfections which lead to the censure of superiors or the intervention of the law ; of such indiscretions we doubtless possess a very incomplete account, but some which have been handed down in the Close Rolls, in Annals, and in the records of Forest and other Courts, are of interest and throw curious sidelights on monastic life in the Abbey.

Statutes of the Cistercian Order, A.D. 1208, p. 1306 c.

“The abbats of England, who, contrary to the immunities of their Order, have served the sentence of interdict are for three days under minor penance, one of them on bread and water ; except the Abbats of Margam and of Melsa and of Beaulieu, who, because they stood for the liberty of their Order, are altogether absolved.”

The Abbat of Beaulieu in refusing to join the other abbats in serving the sentence of interdict was possibly influenced more by a desire to retain the royal favour than to uphold the liberty of his Order, but, so far as concerned his own abbey and its inmates, he was acting within the right conferred upon him by “A Bull of Pope Honorius granting and confirming certain privileges to the Abbey of Beaulieu,” as amongst them was exemption from Papal Interdict.

¹ D. Y. and Richard Warner, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 61.

“Preterea cum commune interdictum terre fuerit, liceat vobis nichilominus in vestro monasterio exclusis excommunicatis et interdictis divina officia celebrare.”

“Moreover, when a common interdict shall be laid upon the country it is permitted to you nevertheless to celebrate the divine offices in your monastery except to those who are excommunicated and under interdict.”

Ex Capit. Cart. Mon. Belli Loci Reg. in Bib. Cotton. Nero A XII.

The following entries refer to Abbat Hugh, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, the most distinguished of the abbats, who, however, had evidently lapsed somewhat from the high ideals and simple life which the founders of his Order enjoined upon their brethren.

Statutes of the Cistercian Order, A.D. 1215. Martene, Anecd., p. 1316 c.

The Abbat of Beaulieu in England who before three earls and forty knights without order had himself at his board merrily drunk to Gargocil, and who has a dog with a silver chain for guarding his couch, and who takes along with him secular servants on horses who serve him on bended knee, who of custom causes himself to be served in silver vessels, and of whom many other things following are said, he presents himself to the chapter on every occasion far from Cistercium to answer objections, otherwise he knows that he would be deposed. The Abbat of Quarr can declare this to him.

I was for some time unable, in spite of much search and inquiry, to discover who “Gargocil” was (?a person who was “no better than she should be”); but from Dufresne’s Glossary it appears that Gargocil means “guttur.” He cites the use of it in the above extract as follows:—“Bibere ad Gargocil in Statutis Cisterc apud Marten, tom. 4. Anecd., col. 1316, est immoderatus

bibere." It may therefore be translated as "merrily drank to excess."

Chronicles of Lanercost, p. 30, 1223.

Hugh, Bishop of Carlisle, who horribly dispersed the Convent of the same Church, and divided their possessions by fraudulent division, through the judgment of God returning from the Roman Court to the Abbey which is called La Ferté, in the parts of Burgundy, sickened and died miserably without the last rites on Sunday within the octave of the Ascension (June 4th).

Annals of Waverley, p. 188, 1223.

Hugh, formerly Abbat of King's Beaulieu in England, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, returning from Rome, came to the Abbey of the Trinity (*i.e.*, La Ferté), where, after three days' illness, he died on the fourth day, the 3rd nones of June. Lo! how suddenly he is taken from our midst whose speech some had thought strange, but not so his heart.

Close Roll. 12 Henry III. Mem. 10.

10 April, 1228.—Writ to the Justices in Eyre in Co. Southton that they shall not permit the Abbat of Beaulieu or his men to be troubled in their eyre because a certain dead person found on his land within the New Forest was buried without view of the coroner or the verderers of the King.

And to the same that they permit the abbat to have his court concerning those things which pertain to him in Co. Southton according to the Charter of King John.

Close Roll. 17 Henry III. Mem. 6.

12 Aug., 1233.—Writ to the Sheriff of Berks to put in respite the plea between the Abbot of King's Beaulieu, whom the King has sent on his affairs beyond the sea,

and his men, and Ralph de Wulvel and Walter de Lamboun, concerning damage done them by the abbat and his men, and the plea between the abbat and Jordan de Inglesham concerning an assault until the abbat returns.

The like between Henry Develie and Edith his mother, and the same abbat for taking cattle, and between John the younger and the abbat for unlawfully detaining chattels.

*Roll of 30 and 40 Henry III. Pleas of Juries
and Assizes.*

"It was also presented and found by the same that on the vigil of Saints Tyburchius and Vallerianus in the 15th year: William Russell with a horse carrying the saddle of a convert of Beaulieu named William, then keeper of the grange of the Abbat of Beaulieu, of Harisford, with three greyhounds entered the forest and slipped them (*amessavit*) after the game of the Lord the King. The forester arrived and William fled, leaving the horse and greyhounds, to a spinney. The foresters delivered the horse and greyhounds to John de Buttethorn, steward of the forest. The sheriff is ordered to cause the abbat to come that he may produce his servant William Russell on the Friday before Ash Wednesday."

*Pleas of the Forest at Winchester on the Morrow
of St. Hilary, 8 Edward I. Before Roger de Clifford,
&c., &c.*

"The Abbat of Beaulieu was indicted for receiving Brother Richard, his convert, and Robert de Selwode and Richard de Rames, his servants (*familiarum*), indicted for trespass of venison with snares and other engines in a close, made fine with the King for 40 marks, came and brought the Queen's writ by which the Queen pardoned the abbat and convert for the trespass aforesaid and gave

the 40 marks for the work (*ad operacionem*) of his church. Therefore he is quit."

The Queen was at the date of this incident in residence at the King's house at Lyndhurst. The present royal residence at Lyndhurst, which changes its name according as a King or a Queen is upon the throne, is built upon the same site, and is now occupied by the official representative of the Crown, who is styled the Deputy Surveyor of the New Forest.

Close Roll. 14 Edward II. Mem. 6.

10th May, 1321.—Order to the escheator this side Trent not to intermeddle further with a number of messuages and lands in Schulton and Farendon, that various persons (names set out) held, as the King learns by inquisition that the above tenants, who held the aforesaid tenements of the Abbat of King's Beaulieu, and his predecessors, from old time, relinquished the tenements on account of the great services therefrom in arrear, and that the abbat entered them as chief lord, and not by any pretext or fraud of the Statute of Mortmain, and continued his seisin thereof for a great time, which tenements the escheator took into the King's hand, believing that the abbat had acquired them after the publication of the said statute.

Roll. No. 161. M. 1d.

Pleas of the Forest at Winchester on the Morrow of St. Hilary, 8 Edward I. Before Roger de Clifford, John Lovetot, Geoffrey de Pyschefore, William de Hameltone, Justice assigned to hear and determine the pleas.

It is presented that the Abbat of Beaulieu made a pond outside the King's Wood of Suthle (Sowley) and enclosed certain water so that it overflowed on to the King's land to the damage of his Forest and so carried away a road leading to a lime-pit. Thus no one could go there to the

detriment of the town of Bradesle (Baddesley). The Abbat came and shewed his warrant. He is therefore quit.

Pleas of the Forest. Roll. No. 165.

Claims of the Abbat of Beaulieu made in Castle of Southampton before Robert de Efford, Robert de Haspal, William de Ponte Roberti, and Hugh de Hamslape, the Kings Justices in Eyre for pleas of the Forest, on Thursday in the morrow of St. Leonard, 5 Edw. III. (1331).

Note.—The Abbat makes 8 claims. He is questioned as to his warrant in making the claims, and *produces charters*.

The claims are considered and adjudged upon. The roll consists of one piece of parchment (and contains about 12 folios of writing).

Patent Roll. 20. Ric. II. p. 2. M. 16d.

1397, Feb. 14.—Commission to the King's brother, Thomas de Holand, Earl of Kent, and the other keepers of the peace in the county of Southampton, and justices of oyer and terminer there, and the Sheriff, to enquire what books, vestments, chalices, crosses, silver censers, and other church ornaments and goods have been removed from the Abbey of Beaulieu Regis, and by whom, and how many horses, mares, oxen, cows, sheep, pigs, and other animals have been taken therefrom and from the manors, lands, and tenements of the same.

Cistercian Statutes, 1413. Martene, Anecd., p. 1559 c.

The General Chapter commits the reformation of the monastery of Beaulieu to the abbats of Rievaulx, in the diocese of York, and of Dore, in the diocese of London . . . that they may reform the same . . . whatsoever reformation they shall have found to be needful in that behalf. Discreetly giving the abbat of the said place carefully to understand the method of his preferment.

A.D. 1418. *Statutes of the Cistercian Order. Martene, Anecd., p. 156.*

Whereas the Abbat of King's Beaulieu in England, by commissions granted by the General Council, as by trustworthy persons it has been brought to the knowledge of the said chapter, has committed very grave abuses, to the scandal and detriment of the Order . . . therefore the General Chapter . . . has altogether suspended him . . . until he shall have lawfully and sufficiently excused himself concerning the premises.

? 1432. *Early Chancery Proceedings.* $\frac{10}{127}$

To the right Reuerent fader in god and full gracious lord
Bisshopp of Bathe and Chaunceller of England.

Besechithe mekely Guylliam de Moyne m^{ch}chaunt of Breytayne That forasmoche as vpon Seint Nicolas Day last passed your sayd suppliant was taken vpon the see with ij Balyngers¹ of Cornewayle wherof was maister of that one H . . . Loef and of that other Ha olf. b seint Yves of Conkernow wherey[n]e youre sayd suppliant hadd xxj toñ of wyñ white and rede whiche was brought by the sayd Robers into the fraunchise of Bewley and there dispoiled and demened after thayre owne lust wherof there ys come a gret parte of the sayd good into the h[and of] the Abbat of Bewley and hys monkys. ²ij toñ wherof the sayd monkys have sold in open Taverne j toñ and the remenñt abyding with the Abbat and other men duelling in the contrey that ys to saie Roger Bukfast j toñ, Robt. Conymon j toñ, Johñ . . . (?) ij toñ, Johñ C . . . ²j toñ, wter j toñ. Wherfor please vnto youre good lordshipp to graunte diuerse writtes sub pena directi vnto the sayd Abbat and other diuerse psonez before rehersed to come and appere before youre good lordshipp atte a sertane day as lawe and good concience requirith for the loue of god and in waye of charitee.

¹ Balyngers = a small sea-going sloop.

² May be 8 or 13; hole in parchment.

The document is in English and undated. John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was Chancellor in 1432-1433, and again between 1433 and 1443.

Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was Chancellor from 1467-1470, and again in 1470 and 1471.



CHAPTER XIX.

SANCTUARY.

A SANCTUARY was a place either in or near a church or in or near a Royal palace which gave protection to a fugitive from justice ; but the "Peace of the Church" was not given to those who were guilty of the crime of sacrilege ; and in Royal palaces "the King's Peace" was not to be obtained by those who were accused of high treason. To a heretic all sanctuaries were closed.

The idea of sanctuary is of great antiquity, as in the ancient Greek States certain temples afforded protection to criminals whom it was unlawful to drag from them, although the supply of food might be intercepted. Amongst the Jews there were cities of refuge to which the slayer might flee who had killed a man unawares.

Soon after his conversion and baptism in 597, Ethelbert, King of Kent, drew up the earliest known Anglo-Saxon code of laws. By the first of these laws the sanctity of churches is strongly enforced ; it briefly lays down that the violation of church *frith* is to be double that of an ordinary breach of the King's peace.¹

"Our forefathers," says Camden, the father of English antiquaries, "thought it an unpardonable sin to take from hence the most bloody murderers and traitors. But when in England our ancestors did in several parts of England erect their sanctuaries, they seem rather to have followed the example of Romulus than of Moses, who commanded that they who were guilty of wilful murder should be taken from the altar and put to death, and appointed a city of

¹ J. C. Cox, "Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers," p. 6.

refuge only to them who should slay a man by chance without lying in wait for him."

THE SANCTUARY OF BEAULIEU.

That Beaulieu Abbey possessed the privilege of sanctuary is quite certain, but how and when it was obtained is doubtful; it is generally said to have been conferred in the reign of Edward III. by a bull of Pope Innocent III., but we are told that "the register of that Pope does not contain anything relating to Beaulieu, and there is no record of any Royal grant of the privilege to the Abbey."¹

This view, however, is not accepted by Dr. Cox.

The bull of Honorius, No. 7, in the Appendix (page 16) of Warner's "Hampshire," vol. II., contains the following:—"Liceat quoque vobis, Clericos vel Layicos, liberos & absolutos, e seculo fugientes, ad conversionem recipere et eos absque contradiccione aliqua retinere." To this the author has appended a footnote:—"† The privilege of sanctuary granted." Beneath this, in the copy of the work which I have used and which belonged to an antiquarian of some note, is written in ink: "This is not y^e grant of sanctuary."

The proper rendering of this passage into English is not free from doubt, but I am disposed to regard the following as correct:—"It is also lawful for you to receive clerks or laymen, freemen or freedmen fleeing from the secular arm as *conversi*, and to keep them without any contradiction."

It is objected that a monk could not become a "conversus" or lay brother, but all clerics or clerks were not monks; and also that "e seculo fugientes" should be translated "fleeing from the world," but for this no special permission would have been necessary, as it was

¹ St. John Hope and Brakespear, *op. cit.*, p. 175.



SANCTUARY SEEKER, DURHAM.
Ralph Hedley, R.B.A.

for that purpose that monasteries existed ; moreover, the last sentence implies that objection might be offered.

The latter statement is, therefore, probably accurate ; it is only a permission to receive and retain a fugitive who was penitent and prepared to become one of the *conversi* or lay brothers.

The following is from a statute of the Cistercian Order, which was confirmed by Popes Eugenius III., Celestine III., and Innocent III., and upon this, probably with the approval of the Courts, the privileges of Beaulieu Abbey were based :—

“*Infra clausuras locorum seu grangiarum vostrarum, nullus violentiam vel rapinam seu furtum facere, ignem apponere, sanguinem fundere, hominem capere, spoliare, verberare, vel interficere, seu violentium temere audeat exercere. Sed sint ipsa loca sicut atria ecclesiarum ab omni pravorum incursu ac violentia auctoritate apostolica libera semper et quieta.*”

“Within the bounds of your precincts or granges, no one shall dare to cause violence or rapine or theft, to spread fire, to shed blood, to seize, spoil, beat or kill a man ; but these places shall be as the porches of churches, ever under the apostolic authority, free and quit from all incursion and violence of the depraved.”

The right was not, however, admitted without question, for in 1427 it was ordered that the Abbat of Beaulieu¹ within eight days, that is to say, the Monday following, do produce evidence of the liberties and franchises by which he retained a certain William Wawe, described as a heretic and traitor, a common highwayman and public robber, a son of iniquity, and a spoiler of churches and nunneries. On this occasion either the rights of the Abbat proved insufficient to protect such an all-round villain, or he was

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, vol. iii., 268, 17th May

starved out or left of his own accord, as one learns with satisfaction that he was soon afterwards arrested outside the sanctuary, and "Wille Wawe was hanged."

In the first year of the reign of Richard III. (1483) the following summons was sent to the Abbat of Beaulieu:—

Trusty and well beloved in God we greet you well.
And for certain great and urgent causes us and our Council specially moving We well and in our straightest wise charge you that ye, bringing with you all and every such muniments and writings by which ye claim to have a Sanctuary at Beaulieu, and also two of your monks, appear personally before us and our said Council at our Palace at Westminster within six days next after the receipt of these our letters. Not failing us to do this upon the faith and allegiance that ye owe unto us. Given &c. under our privy seal the 15th day of December the first year of our reign.

To the Abbat of Beaulieu.¹

It would be very interesting to know what were the "muniments and writings" which the Abbat took with him to Westminster; but that they were sufficient to establish his claim is proved by the fact that Beaulieu Abbey continued to be a sanctuary up to the date of its surrender and suppression in 1538.

LIMITS OF SANCTUARY.

The privilege of sanctuary belonged to every consecrated church and the churchyard surrounding it, but this was only recognised as holding good for forty days, the right of giving continuous protection, even for the whole

¹ Harleian MSS., No. 433, p. 133v.



SANCTUARY SEEKER, HEXHAM, AND THE
FRITH STOOL OF HEXHAM.
Ralph Hedley, R.B.A.

lifetime of the offender, being reserved to certain chartered sanctuaries, of which, in the north of England, Beverley and Durham were the best known, and in the south, Westminster, St. Martin's le Grand, and Beaulieu Abbey.

It is a tradition that if the fugitive reached the church and had his hand upon the knocker of the door before he was overtaken he was safe, but he was equally safe within the churchyard. In several English churches there was a stone seat beside the altar which gave to its occupant a special degree of protection; examples of these seats, which were called *Frith stools* (peace stools), may still be seen at Hexham and at Beverley. At Beverley any fugitive coming within a mile of the minster, or touching one of the boundary crosses, was free from any legal process, under pain of the greater excommunication.

From the terms of the grant of the Manor to Thomas Wriothesley (*vide* Chapter XXIV.) it is quite clear that the protection of the Sanctuary of Beaulieu extended far beyond the area enclosed within the Precinct wall, and also far beyond the limits of the village as it exists to-day, probably it covered the whole of the manor granted to the Abbey by King John and extended to the seashore.

The references to "the Great Close of Beaulieu" are so worded as to show that the close included a very large area, as it contained Boverey, Thorougham Park (*i.e.*, Park Farm) and St. Leonard's, and by the final proviso it is made clear that sanctuary rights had been exercised over the whole of these lands.

"Provided always that neither these our letters patent nor anything in them contained should extend to the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the sanctuaries within the monastery village and limits of the great close of Beaulieu aforesaid, hitherto used, claimed, or sold by the aforesaid late Abbat and Convent or any of his predecessors."

ABJURATION OF THE REALM.

Connected in England with the privilege of sanctuary was the practice of "*renunciatio regni*," "abjuration of the realm." By the ancient common law if a person guilty of felony took the benefit of sanctuary he might within forty days appear clothed in sackcloth before the coroner and the people, confess his guilt, and take an oath to quit the realm and not return without the King's licence. On confessing and taking the oath he became attainted of the felony, but had a reasonable time to prepare for his departure.

SANCTUARY LAW AND PROCEDURE.

When a person took sanctuary within a church, not being a chartered sanctuary, the usual procedure appears to have been as follows :—

"When any man has fled to church we will that the coroner, as soon as he has notice of it, command the bailiff of the place that he cause the neighbours and the four nearest townships (to form a jury) to appear before him at a certain day at the church where the fugitive shall be ; and in their presence he shall receive the confession of the felony ; and if the fugitive pray to abjure our realm let the coroner immediately do what is incumbent on him." ¹

If, however, the offender did not choose abjuration, but elected to be tried in the King's Court, he was delivered to the township to be kept at their peril, or was sent to the nearest gaol to await the next visit of the justiciaries. If he not only refused abjuration and trial, but also objected to leave the church, a rather difficult situation was created. Apparently he was safe for forty days, after which he

¹ Act of Edward I., *De Officio Coronatoris* and Britton's treatise thereon, *De Coronners*, section 18. Edition of F. M. Nichols (1865), i. 17, quoted by Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

could no longer abjure the realm, and might be starved out of the church ; and it became a penal offence to supply him with food.

If he abjured the realm the coroner fixed upon the port from which he was to sail, which was very often Dover, as being a place at which he could readily find a ship ; the coroner also named the places at which he was to stay on his way thither, and the time allowed him for the journey. Cases are on record in which the coroner selected Dover, although the offender was then at York.

“ Thus the distance from York to Dover over London Bridge was nearly 270 miles, and there are several entries of eight days being the allotted time, thus maintaining a rate of over 33 miles a day.”¹

From Beaulieu a person who had abjured the realm would probably have been sent to Southampton.

The abjurer of the realm was clothed in sackcloth without a girdle, and carried a cross of wood in token that he was under the protection of the Church. Reasonable travelling expenses as far as the port were allowed him, but he was forbidden to leave the King's highway, except under great necessity, *e.g.*, to obtain lodging ; or to delay anywhere for two nights, or to entertain himself anywhere. If he left the highway the hue might be raised against him and the men of any village might lawfully kill him, and not very infrequently they did so.

The following record² of such a case is taken from the Coroner's Rolls of Northamptonshire:—“ John of Ditchford fled to the church of Wootton on account of robbery, which he confessed before the coroner and the four townships, and on abjuring the realm had the port of Dover assigned to him. Two days later his body was found beheaded in the fields of Collingtree.

¹ Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

² Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

The inquest returned that 'on the preceding Wednesday the said John abjured the realm of England before the coroner at Wootton, and on the same day he abandoned the King's highway and the warrant of holy Church, to visit the cross, and fled over the fields of Collingtree towards the woods. Hue was raised against him and he was pursued by the township of Wootton and others, until he was beheaded while still fleeing. His head was carried by the four townships to the King's castle at Northampton by order of the coroner.' "

ADMISSION TO A CHARTERED SANCTUARY.

The procedure of conferring the protection of a chartered sanctuary apparently varied in certain details at each place, but at all a sanctuary man was obliged to have his name entered in a register.

The oath of any one seeking the liberty of St. John of Beverley was received by the archbishop's bailiff. The clerk of the court made entry of his description, his residence, and the place and mode of the crime and then—

"Gar him lay his hand uppon the book saying on this wyse

"Sir take hede on your oth. Ye shalbe trew and feythfull to my Lord Archbisshop of York, Lord of this towne, to the Provost of the same, to the Chanons of this chirch and all othir ministers therof

"Also ye shall bere no poynted wepen, dagger, knyfe, ne none other wapen, agenst the Kynges pece. . . .

"And then gar hym kysse the book."

The sanctuary man then paid the bailiff or his deputy the fee of 2s. 4d., together with 4d. to the clerk for inscribing his name in the register.¹

It appears from the Register of Newenham that on a certain occasion the Lord Abbat of Beaulieu wrote through

¹ Harl. MS., 4292, f. 17b, quoted by Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

his receptor or steward to his Brother of Hyde asking his advice respecting a murderer who had taken refuge at Beaulieu. The answer of the Abbat of Hyde, written by John Wells, one of the monks of Hyde, was as follows:—
 “Mayster Reseyver.

“M. Wells counsell ys, that as sone as my lord of Beaulieu may have a coroner, that the coroner scholde execute hys offyce, according to hys dewte; for the law of Ynglonde requiryth none odyr thyng, but that the chyrche schal safe a thefe fro deth, and not to kepe a felon, and a morthoror 40 dayes; but after my simple councele, sende for a coroner shortly, and lat hym execute the law, for yf the felon wyl not have a coroner, he may take hym ouzt of sanctuary, and brynge hym to the Kynge’s gayole, by the law. My Lorde of Beaulieu myzth have delyveryd hym, yf no man had not pursuyed afteyr hym. Let not my lorde, ne none of hys servantes be consente to hys departinge for yf he wyll goo, and not after the forme of law, yt is to hys own jupartie. Item my lorde of Hyde sayth that yf the felon wyll take no coroner, that then the coroner maye sende hym to the gayole. And also the coroner schal have hys rewarde, of the felonys guddys, &c.”¹

The following letter, written at a time when the post of abbat was vacant owing to the death of Thomas Skeffington, is of interest, as showing the reputation of the sanctuary at Beaulieu in the sixteenth century.

State Papers. Henry VIII. VI., 1007.

John Lord Audley to the Duke of Suffolk. (Summary of a Letter.)

1533, 20th Aug.—The Bishop of Bangor, late Abbat of Bewley, died on Sunday last. Much suit is made for his room. Whoever is appointed Abbat should be “a

¹ Ex Regist. de Newenham in Bibl. Arundel, fol. 50.

man of good gravity, and circumspect, and not base of stomach or faint of heart when need shall require, the place standeth so wildly; and it is a great sanctuary, and boundeth upon a great forest and upon the sea coast, where sanctuary men may do much displeasure if they be not very well and substantially looked upon." Is urged by his neighbours on this account to write to the Duke, and my Lord Chief Baron will also certify his Grace thereof. Begs him to move the King in the matter.

Wade, 20th August.

Stowe¹ gives the following account of the evils resulting from the existence of sanctuaries:—

"Unthrifths riot, and run in debt upon the boldness of these places. Yea and rich men run thither with poor men's goods, where they build. There they spend and bid their creditors go whistle them. Men's wives run thither with their husband's plate and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating them. Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and live thereon. There they devise robberies. Nightly they steal out; they rob and rewe, and kill, and come in again, as though these places gave them not only safeguard for the harm they have done but a licence to do more."

ABOLITION OF THE RIGHT OF SANCTUARY.

In England all privilege of sanctuary and abjuration were abolished by Statute 21 James I., chapter 28, but, in spite of this, in certain pretended privileged places in London, such as Whitefriars or Alsatia and the Savoy, the right was still asserted, and by Statute 8 and 9, William III., May 27, penalties were imposed upon Sheriffs who failed to execute process there. It is possible, however, that the laxity of the Sheriffs was not unconnected with fear for their own safety, for the lawlessness of Alsatia was proverbial.

¹ Stowe's Chron., p. 443.

It is generally thought that the privilege of sanctuary has disappeared in Great Britain, but it still exists in Scotland, though it is in abeyance.

The most celebrated ecclesiastical sanctuaries in Scotland were the Church of Wodale, now Stow, near Gala-shiels, and the Church of Lesmahagow near Lanark ; the latter was a sanctuary of both kinds, ecclesiastical and royal, as "the King's Peace" had been granted to it by David I. King of Scotland.

The most famous royal sanctuary in Scotland is the Holyrood House where the privilege arises from the respect due to the person of the sovereign.

The precinct of Holyrood, to which the privilege also belongs, includes Arthur's Seat and the King's Park. Holyrood only afforded protection against imprisonment for debt. For twenty-four hours after passing the confines the debtor was protected against arrest, but if he desired to stay longer he must enter his name in the register. Crown debtors, fraudulent bankrupts, and persons able to pay but refusing to do so, could not claim the protection of the sanctuary of Holyrood. In 1800 imprisonment for debt was abolished and sanctuary became obsolete, but as regards Holyrood House the privilege, though dormant, is still recognised by the laws of Scotland.

DISTINGUISHED FUGITIVES TO BEAULIEU.

The Sanctuary of Beaulieu gave shelter to three persons whose names live in history ; one a Queen, another the widow of a King-maker, and the third a Pretender to the throne.

QUEEN MARGARET OF ANJOU.

The struggle for the Crown between the adherents of the House of York, of the White Rose, and the House of Lancaster, of the Red Rose, continued from the first battle of St. Albans in 1455 to that of Bosworth in 1485.

In 1470 Edward IV. of York was driven from England and Henry VI. was restored to the throne. Edward returned in the spring of 1471, defeated and slew Warwick, the King-maker, at the Battle of Barnet and dispersed the Lancastrians. On the day of the battle, Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI., landed at Weymouth with a train of French auxiliaries. Hearing of the fall of Warwick and of the destruction of his army, she fled to Beaulieu. The occurrence is thus described by Polydore Vergil^v.

“Queen Margaret, perceiving it was in vain to provide for wars, and now almost despairing of her own safety and her son’s, departed to the next Abbey of the Cistercian order, which is at a village called Beaulieu, and there took sanctuary.¹ The report in the meantime of her coming being bruited abroad, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, with John his brother, Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, who before had always been of the other party, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, John Lord Wenlock, and John Longstro, the chief Captain of the Knights of Rhodes, met together quickly at Beaulieu and went to the Queen.

“The doleful woman seeing the noblemen who were her friends was somewhat refreshed in mind, and laying fears somewhat apart to the intent they should not think she had done anything unadvisedly, she talked with them of many matters, and declared the cause why she could not be present in time, and what reason moved her to fly unto that sanctuary, beseeching them particularly first before all things to provide for the safety of her son, and despairing utterly to prevail at this present in the force of arms, she thought it best to sail again into France, if the time of year and malice of the many would so permit, and there abide till God should give better opportunity to use arms. The duke with the others, after he had comforted

¹ Ramsay, “York and Lancaster,” gives Cerne Abbey, in Dorsetshire, as the place of this interview.

the Queen with many persuasions, affirmed that they were all determined while life did last to maintain war against their enemies And so all every one being encouraged to make war, every man for his part gathered forces. The Duke through all his dominion mustered with diligence likewise did the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke also departed to his earldom for the same cause. The Queen at the last brought unto the like hope of well doing said : ‘I pray God speed us well,’ and forthwith proceeded to Bath as the duke had advised her.”

Queen Margaret raised forces for the battle which took place at Tewkesbury in the same year, when she was finally defeated and taken prisoner, and her son was subsequently murdered by the attendants of Edward IV.

THE COUNTESS OF WARWICK.

In 1471, after the battle of Barnet, in which Neville, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, was killed ; the Countess of Warwick, who was then at Southampton, fled for sanctuary to Beaulieu, where she remained for 14 years. On the accession of Henry VII., in 1485, she regained her liberty, and her title was restored to her.

PERKIN WARBECK.

The third distinguished fugitive to Beaulieu was Perkin Warbeck, who was born 1474, a son of John Osbeck or De Werbecque, controller of Tournay. When a youth he went to Portugal as page to a Yorkist lady, wife of Sir Edward Brampton ; in 1491 he accompanied a Breton, Pregent Meno to Ireland, and was thought by the people of Cork to be a son of George, Duke of Clarence or of Richard III. He became assured of the support of the Earls of Desmond and Kildare and gave out that he was Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV. In 1492 he was invited to France by Charles VIII. and was then acknowledged by Margaret, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy

to be her nephew and saluted as "the White Rose of England." In the following year his banishment was demanded by Henry VII. ; he then went to Vienna and was recognised as Richard IV., King of England. In 1494 he was supplied with money for his expedition to England by the Emperor Maximilian I. In 1495 he was denounced as an impostor by Garter King-of-arms at Mechlin, and his English adherents were arrested and executed. In the same year he was repulsed at Deal and at Waterford, but was welcomed by James IV., King of Scotland at Stirling, and was married to Lady Catherine Gordon. In 1497 he sailed for Cork, but subsequently landed in Cornwall, where there was a rising, and proclaimed himself King Richard IV., stating that he was the younger son of Edward IV., who was supposed to have been murdered in the Tower together with his brother. The Pretender laid siege to Exeter, but on the approach of the Royal army he withdrew secretly to Taunton.

"When he was come near Taunton he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready for fight. But about midnight he fled with three score horse to Beaulieu in the New Forest, where he and divers of his company registered themselves *Sanctuary* men, leaving his Cornish men to the four winds, but yet thereby easing them of their vow, and using his wonted compassion not to be by when his subjects' blood should be shed. The King, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently 500 horse to pursue and apprehend him before he should get either to sea, or to the same little island called a Sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do was to beset the Sanctuary and to maintain a strong watch about it, till the King's pleasure were further known."¹

¹ Lord Bacon's "Life of Henry VII."

He was induced to leave the Sanctuary under a promise of a pardon, and was sent in custody to the Tower of London, where he contracted an intimacy with the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, and was executed for planning an attempt to escape.

The following interesting extracts from the Public Records relate to the Sanctuary of Beaulieu Abbey and its dependencies :—

Close Roll. 8 Henry III. (1224). Part II., Mem. 7.

Concerning a plea to be enrolled.

It is commanded to the Sheriff of Berkshire that he cause to be enrolled in the rolls of the coroners and reserved until the next coming of the Justices in those parts the plea which the Lord the King has against the Abbat of Beaulieu by occasion of a certain homicide who fled into the church of Langeford and afterwards is said to have abjured the land of the Lord the King by the bailiff of the said Abbat of Farringdon without warrant and command of the Lord the King. Witness the King at Dunstable, 20th day of August.

About the year 1527 Thomas Heneage wrote to Cardinal Wolsey, "Pleasith yor Grace to be good and graciouse unto my power brother the Archdeacon of Oxford for the opteyning of sume parte of his goods taken from him by that lewde person which ys in Sentwarye in Bewdeley."

State Papers, Henry VIII. Vol. 12, No. 728.

Thomas Abbat of Bieuley to Cromwell.

1537, 20th Sept.—I have received your letter of the 17th September desiring me to deliver to the bearers the body of James Manzin, Florentine.

Would have done so, but he left Sanctuary on Sunday last during my absence from home.

From Hide Monastery,
20th September.

Ibid., No. 765.

The same to the same.

1537, 28th Sept.—On sight of your letter by Master Perpoint I and Master Huttoft did with diligence gather all the conveyers of James Manzy and have so used that I think they will love the worse hereafter to steal sanctuary men from Bieuley. Your suspicion that I was privy to his conveying for the favour I bore to Master Huttoft and Master Mylle, has been to me as a death. Manzi hid day and night in woods, bushes, and old barns; we got him out of a hay barn and delivered him to Master Perpoint.

Hampton,
28th September.

Ibid., No. 766.

Harry Huttoft to Cromwell.

1537, 28th Sept.—I have received your letter for the apprehending James Manzii who lately escaped out of sanctuary at Bealey. And where your lordship has been informed that his escape was effected by my means, I beg you will reward those who so imparted as they deserve. I am innocent as the child unborn. I have made search with my Lord of Beaulieu these two days, both aboard ship and in all the Forest, and have this night found the said James in a hay-loft on a farm beside Hampton. He was hidden half the mow deep, and when discovered seemed more dead than alive.

My Lord of Beaulieu has used very good diligence in this matter and is much discouraged by the reports made of him.

State Papers, Henry VIII. Vol. 13, Pt. I. 1309.

12th June, 30 Henry VIII., 1538.—Thos. Jeynes, of the parish of Goldeclyff, Marches of Wales, grazier, alias Thos. Jones, alias Thos. Wallssheman of Beaulieu, Hants, yeoman. Pardon for the death of Wm. David Phillippe alias Phillippes, of the parish of Christechurch, in the lordship of Llabenneth, grazier, slain by him at the lordship of Llabenneth.

THE SANCTUARY AT THE DATE OF THE SUPPRESSION.

At the suppression of the Abbey in 1538 there were 32 men in the Sanctuary for debt, felony, and murder, many of them with wives and children. With few exceptions the whole of the inhabitants of the village were Sanctuary men and their families.

The commissioners for the suppression evidently tried to obtain the best terms from Lord Cromwell for these unfortunate people, as the following letters show.

Among the numerous documents in the Public Record Office that refer to the suppression of the monasteries there are several interesting letters relating to the sanctuary at Beaulieu.¹ The first is addressed to Thomas lord Cromwell by the commissioners entrusted with the suppression of the Abbey, and is dated 3rd April, 1538 :

Pleaseth it your Lordshipe to be adv'tised yesterdaie we Resayved the Surrender of this Monastery and from that tyme have and doo travale for the dispeche of all other thinges as dilygentlie as we may Therbe Sayntuary men here for dett felony and murder xxxij many of them aged some very seke they all wthin iiij^{or} wyves and childern and dwellinge howses and ground wherby the lyve wth their famylies whiche beynge all assembled befor hus and

¹ These letters are copied from St. John Hope and Brakspear, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

the Kinges hignes pleasure opened to them they have verye lamentable declared that if they be nowe send to other saynturies not onlie they but their wyves and childern also shalbe utterly undoñ and therfore have desired us to be means for theym with your lordship that they may remayne here for terme of their lyves so that none other be Resayved and bycause we have by exaīacon certeyne knowlege that the great number of theym wth their wyves and childern shuldbē utterly cast a waie their age impotency and other thinge considered yf they be sent to any other place we have sent this berear unto you besechinge your lordshipe we may knowe the Kinge pleasure by you herin whiche knowen wee shall accordinge to our most bownden duetes wth all diligenc' accomlishe the same as knoweth our Lord who have your Lordship in his blyssed kepinge from Bewley the iij daie of Aprill

Yo^r lordeshippes most^e assurede to cōmaunde
Richarde Layton prest

Yo^r lordeshippe most bownden beaḋeman and s'vant
William Petre

Yow^r pou^r man John ffreman.¹

The second letter is from Thomas Stevens, the late Abbat of Beaulieu, to Thomas Wriothesley, the grantee of the abbey, and is dated 16th April:

IHS.

After my hertye Recōmendaçons/ this is to desyre you to be good and singler Mast^r to thes por men p'vilegyd in the Sañctuarye of bewley for dette/ w^{che} ar in ther behavyor very honest men & hathe so bene in all the tyme/ I beynge there power gov'n'/ & dowzt not but the wyll evyn so cōtinew/ hereafter/ whos namys bethe cōteynyd wth in ther supplycacon/ & in that po^r towne the thynke to lyve honestlie/ & to go from the same shalbe

¹ Letters and Papers Henry VIII., vol. 131, f. 13.

ther utter undoynge & no pfit to the towne for when they be gone the howsys wyll yeld no Rent but stond voyde and decay as god knowt who p's've yow^r m^rshype to yo^r plesur and herte desyre w^t increase of . . . o^r w^ttyn at yo^r hows of leon'de th . . . of april

Yo^r chaplen and bedemā
Thomas Stepyns late abbat of bewley

Endorsed :

To My very syngler good M^r
M^r Thomas Withesley esqre deliv' thys w^t
speede.

Docketed :

Thabbot of Beaulieu to
Mr. Wrioth xvj Aprilis.¹

The third letter was written on 17th April, also to Wriothesley, from John Crayford :

Right wo^rshipfull after most harty cōmendaçons thies shalbe in most humble wise to besech you to tender the lamentable petiçon and Supplication of thonely most wrechyd and miserable Detto^rs at beaulyeu/ so pensiffe and hevy/ ffer steppyd/ in age/ of long cōtinuaunce ther/ lodon w^t wyffes and childer/ who (wo faile yf they shall depte) must be cōpelled to begg and failing of foode in a sanctuary of smale compasse/ must other lenged ther bodyes and slender goods in goyng abroad or dey for hungar The holle Inhabitants of beaulyeu (few excepted) be sanctuary men The morderers and fellows woll incontiently and w^tout any further sute/ as hopeles men depart/ the Rest be detto^{rs} of good behav^r and right quyet emongst ther neighbours and both can and woll ffynde substanciall and honest men for ther good abering during ther liffe and abode ther/ yt war an excellent and an hiegh dede of charite to pcure licence of the Kinge

¹ Wriothesley Letters and Papers, f. 59.

grace ther to tary w^t wife and childer/ not by vertue of
thold Sanctuary ther/ but be new p^tection under the
Kinge greate seale/ The obtencon herof shuld much
soundeth yo^r wo^rship and cōmende yo^w hieghly unto tholle
countree in thes ptes/ wher yo^w unseen/ and unknowen be
moch regarded, etc. etc.

Docketed :

Ion Crauford xvij^o Aprilis to Mr. Wrioth'.¹

The fate of the sanctuary men is indicated by a note
mong Crumwell's *Remembrances*,

The sanctuary men at Beaulieu for debt
to continue there for life.²

¹ Letters and Papers Henry VIII., vol. 131, f. 163.

² Cott. MS. Titus B. 1, f. 465.



CHAPTER XX.

THE DAUGHTER HOUSES, CELLS, AND GRANGES
OF THE ABBEY OF BEAULIEU.

DAUGHTER HOUSES.

THE Daughter Houses of Beaulieu were :—

1. Netley Abbey, Hants. Founded A.D. 1239.
2. Hailes Abbey, Gloucestershire. Founded A.D. 1246.
3. Newenham Abbey, Devonshire. Founded A.D. 1241 or 1246.
4. St. Mary Graces, without the walls of London. Founded 1349.

CELLS.

The following cells were subordinate to Beaulieu :—
Lanachebran or Lan-a-Kebran, *alias* St. Kerron or St. Keverne, in the Deanery of Kerrier, in Cornwall. Farrington or Farendon in Berkshire.

GRANGES AND PARKS.

Herfords, called in Foundation charter Hareford. Otterwood, in Domesday Book called Ostreorde. Bocke Lodginge or Buck-Lodging, now known as Lodge Farm. St. Leonards. The Park of Thorougham, now represented by Park Farm.

NETLEY ABBEY.

Netley, the first and perhaps the most beautiful of the daughters of Beaulieu, was founded by King Henry the Third, the son of King John in 1239, and the execu-

tors of Peter de Rupibus may have contributed to the foundation. Its name appears to have passed through many phases, not, however, quite as many as that of its parent.

We have seen already how the Cistercians and other Orders came to adopt the name "*Bellus Locus*" for their abbeys, and possibly, as has been suggested, the monks of Beaulieu, carrying with them to their new home the same wish to associate it in name with a "pleasant place," called it "*Laetus Locus*," which in time became Letteley, Lettilye, or Letelegh, and still later was corrupted into "Nettelye" or Netley. Dugdale gives "Netteley" and "Letteley" as transition names, a fact which lends some authority to the tradition, and the name Lettelye occurs in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas the Fourth. "Edwardstow" or "De loco Sancti Edwardi," as an additional name, indicates that Saint Edward was its patron saint, and, of course, as a Cistercian Abbey, it was under the special protection of the Virgin Mary.

Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the grandson of King John, whose gift to Hailes is mentioned below, was also a benefactor of Netley.

No inhabitant of Hampshire who loves what is beautiful has any excuse for not having made a pilgrimage to Netley Abbey.

In the grimly humorous medley under that title in "The Ingoldsby Legends" the following verses are worthy of the subject:—

I saw thee, Netley, as the sun
 Across the western wave
 Was sinking slow, And a golden glow
 To thy roofless towers he gave;
 And the ivy sheen, With its mantle of green,
 That wrapt thy walls around,
 Shone lovelily bright In that glorious light,
 And I felt 'twas holy ground.

Then I thought of the ancient time—
 The days of thy Monks of old,—
 When to Matin and Vesper, and Compline chime,
 The loud Hosanna roll'd,
 And thy courts, and “long-drawn aisles” among,
 Swell'd the full tide of sacred song.

And yet, fair Netley, as I gaze
 Upon that grey and mouldering wall,
 The glories of thy palmy days
 Its very stones recall.

*	*	*	*	*
Sublime in ruin, grand in woe,				
*	*	*	*	*
No voice awakes thine echoes now!				

HAILES ABBEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Hailes Abbey, the second daughter house of Beaulieu, was founded in 1246 by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, second son of King John ; for twenty monks.

On 9th November, 1251, in the presence of the King and Queen, thirteen bishops, most of the barons and above three hundred knights, the church was dedicated to St. Mary, and the Founder gave a feast of incredible magnificence. He is reported to have expressed a wish that he had always expended his money with equal wisdom.

At the date of the dedication of the Church, the Founder had already spent ten thousand marks upon the building, and immediately afterwards he gave a further sum of a thousand marks to buy land and to build the house, and the King by charter settled upon the Abbey the yearly rent of twenty pounds.

The most remarkable gift to the Abbey was made by the son of the Founder, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who, whilst travelling with his father in Germany, purchased a portion of a relic said to be the blood of the Saviour. Of this he gave in 1272, after his father's death, a third

part to Hailes Abbey, of which it proved a valuable possession, as many more of the faithful than formerly were attracted thereto.

In 1538 a Solemn Inquiry was held into the nature of this venerated relic, "The Blood of Hailes," reputed to be the blood of our Lord.

The Church and most of the surrounding buildings were destroyed by fire in 1271; but a new church was built and dedicated in 1277; unfortunately, however, sixty years later this building was much injured by floods.

Mr. St. Clair Baddeley writes to the Lord Montagu in July, 1899, as follows:—

"Although Beaulieu belongs to the transition period from Norman to Early Pointed, I think in certain arrangements its child Hailes of 1251 more resembles it than it resembles Fountains or even comparatively neighbouring Tintern: though I do not believe we shall find that Hailes possessed a circular apse. The church was 70 feet wide, and the nave about 140 feet long, and the cloister about 133 feet square."

It is satisfactory to learn, as we do from a contemporary letter, that the daughter abbey at the time of its suppression was a credit to Beaulieu.

NEWENHAM ABBEY.

Newenham Abbey, in the parish of Axminster, Co. Devon, "*filia 3^a Belli Loci Regis Angliæ*," was founded by Reginald de Mohun, Earl of Somerset, according to the Annals of the two houses of Parcolude and Chester, in 1241. Tanner says not before 1246, because Richard (Blondy), Bishop of Exeter, who was one of the witnesses to the foundation charter, was not consecrated till 1245.² The date given in the "*Origines Cistercienses*" is 6th

¹ Camb. Mod. Hist., vol. II., p. 448.

² D. M. A., vol. V., p. 690.

January 1247. Richard Blondy¹ consecrated the Abbey at the request of John de Ponte Robert (*i.e.*, Robertsbridge), Prior of Beaulieu, and excommunicated all who should injure it.

The names of the first community sent from Beaulieu to Newenham were²:—

John Goddard, a native of Canterbury, a man of excellent learning and eloquence, who was consecrated first Abbat of Newenham on Sunday, the Feast of the Epiphany, 1246. He resigned April 4th, 1248, and became Abbat of Clive, Somerset.

Michael de Brythwalton,	Walter de Oviton,
Geoffrey de Chypngbourne,	Ralph de Oviton,
Walter de Honespylle, Prior,	William, Sub-Prior,
Henry de Persolte, Cellarer,	Richard de Ildesbye,
Adam de Esthoclio,	Precentor,
Nicolas de Cornewall,	and four lay brethren.

The colony quitted Beaulieu, January 2nd, 1246–7.

The connection between Beaulieu and Newenham was closely maintained for many years, and ten of the Abbats of Newenham deserve mention here owing to their association with the Mother Abbey:—

1. *John of Robertsbridge*, Sussex, Prior of Beaulieu; was in office only a few months and retired 5th February, 1253. Presented a book of the Gospels to the Abbey.

2. *Geoffrey de Blancheville*, Placitator (*i.e.*, Pleader) of Beaulieu; was consecrated Abbat 29th May, 1252. He obtained many manors and churches for the Abbey. He began the building of the church and celebrated the first mass in it. He died out of the Abbey A.D. 1262.

3. *Hugh de Cokeswell*, Porter of Beaulieu; was elected Abbat 10th June, 1262, but he never received episcopal benediction. In July, 1265, he privately resigned and

¹ Prior's "Worthies of Devon," 1810, p. 79.

² D. M. A., vol. V., pp. 690–1.

clandestinely betrayed the abbey and displaced the convent, with the artful advice and concurrence of Dionysius, Abbat of Beaulieu. The monks of Beaulieu determined to send a new abbat and convent of twelve monks to Newenham, and chose John de Northampton, warden of Faringdon, as abbat, and on July 7th the new colony left Beaulieu for Newenham, and proceeded on the first day as far as Christchurch, where they took ship; the next day they arrived at Bindon Abbey; the third at Whaddon, near Dorchester, and the fourth at Ford Abbey. On January 6th, the Feast of the Epiphany, which fell on a Sunday that year, they entered the site of Newenham chanting the "Salve Regina," in the presence of Reginald and William Mohun and a great concourse of people. The premises were in a very unfinished state and a small building served for a chapel.¹

Hugh de Cokeswell, who still in public retained his character of abbat, went by land to Newenham, probably in order that he might arrive there before the colony, who took ship. Previous to their coming, by unworthy pretexts, he contrived to send off the old members in various directions, and the new colony entered the Abbey and took possession of it. "Thus," says the Registrar, "was the change effected, but it was not the change of the right hand of the Most High, but a fraudulent invention of Satan."

Hugh de Cokeswell died in September, 1272.

4. *William de Cornwall*, or Cornubia, Prior of Beaulieu; was consecrated 12th September, 1272, and was Abbat for 16 years, when he became blind, resigned and retired to Beaulieu. He died in 1288, and was buried at Beaulieu. A plain slab of Purbeck marble, which covered his body, is in the Lay Brothers Frater (the Museum) at Beaulieu (*vide* p. 198).

¹ Oliver, "Monasticon Diocœsis Exoniensis," p. 357.

5. *Richard de Chichester*, monk of Beaulieu; was consecrated September 13th, 1288. He is said to have destroyed with his own hands in the King's Court a Charter of Advowson of Axminster, being richly bribed by the Canons of Beaulieu. He was deposed October 12th, 1293, and returned to Beaulieu, leaving his abbey in debt to the amount of £283.

6. *Richard de Perdiston*, Subcellarer of Beaulieu, consecrated November, 1293. He set at rest the claim of the Abbey to Axminster, and received more money from York, whereon he banqueted and lived joyfully and lavishly while it lasted. He retired April, 1297, but was re-elected 1303, and died on his return from a general chapter November, 1304, and was buried at Waverley.

7. *Ralph de Shapwicke*.—Resigned at Beaulieu August, 1314.

8. *Robert de Pufflysvyree*, native of Somerset, Cellarer of Beaulieu, consecrated September 30th, 1314. Resigned May, 1321; died at Beaulieu.

9. *John de Cokyswell* (Cokiswill), Prior of Beaulieu, elected 1321; died, after a long illness, on 26th December, St. Stephen's day, 1324, and was buried at Newenham.

10. *John de Gettington*, native of Northants, Porter at Beaulieu, Archdeacon of Lewes, Canon of Chichester. Consecrated 1324. He built the cloister, began the new refectory towards the lavatory.

He became blind and died 1338, and he was buried at Newenham, in the first arch of the cloister.

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY GRACES, EAST MINSTER, OR NEW ABBEY,
WITHOUT THE WALLS OF LONDON.

The Abbey stood east from Smithfield, and was founded by King Edward III. in the year 1349, upon the following occasion :—

“In the year 1348, 23 Edward the III^d., the first great pestilence in his time began, and increased so sore, that

for want of room in churchyards to bury the dead of the city and of the suburbs, one John Corey, clerk, procured of Nicholas, Prior of the Holy Trinity, without Ealdgate, one toft of ground near East Smithfield for the burial of them that died, with condition that it might be called the Churchyard of the Holy Trinity ; which ground was caused, by the aid of devout citizens, to be enclosed with a wall of stone ; and the same was dedicated by Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, where innumerable bodies of the dead were afterwards buried, and a chapel built in the same place to the glory of God. To which King Edward aforesaid, having regard, after having been in a tempest on the sea and in peril of drowning, at which time he made a vow to build a monastery to the honour of God, and the Lady of Graces, if God would grant him to come safe to land ; he there built a monastery, causing it to be called East Minster, placing in it an abbat and monks of the Cistercian or White Order."

The abbey was surrendered in 1539, and was valued at £546 10s. per annum (Dugdale), or £602 11s. 6d. (Speed).

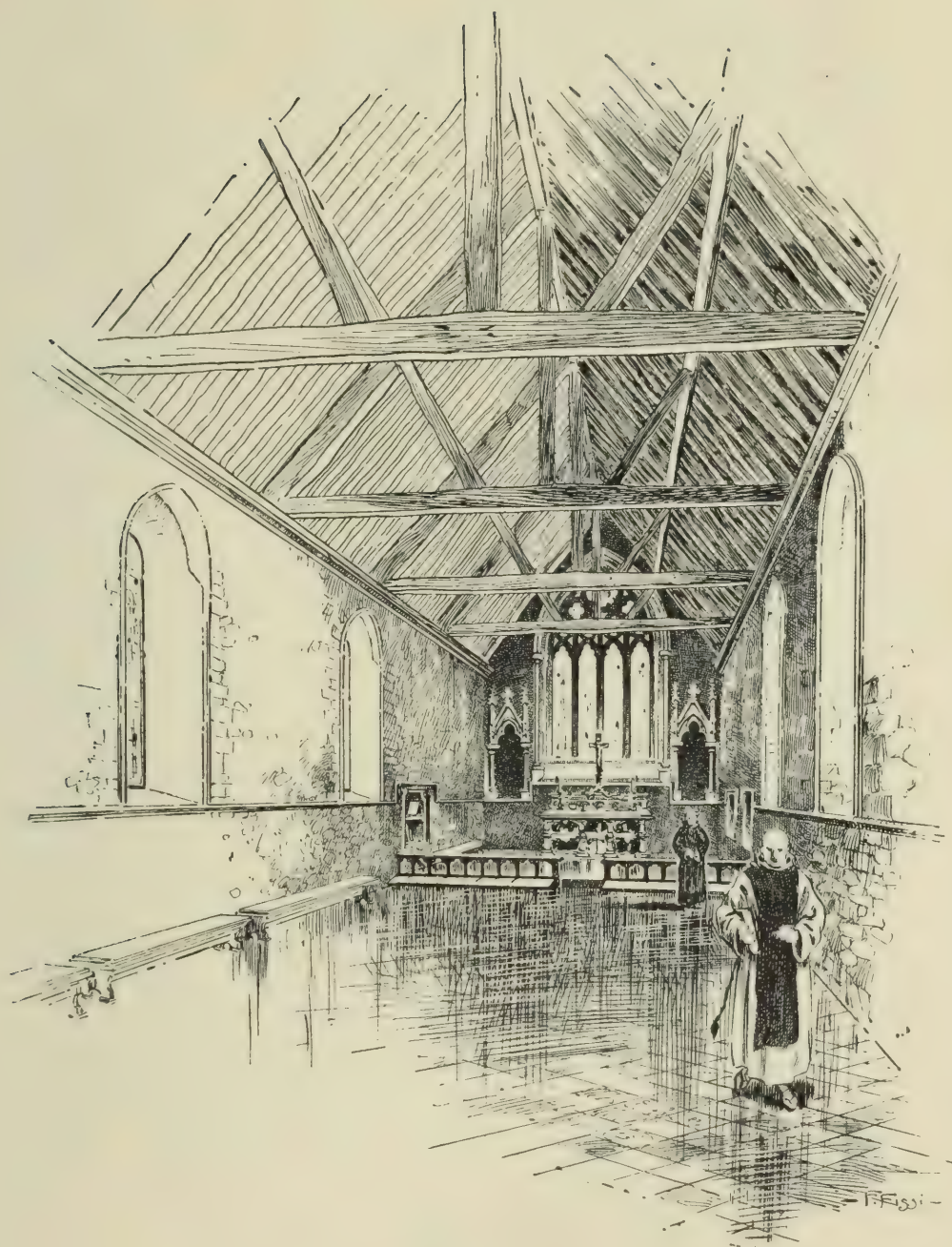
THE GRANGES.

A grange was a small monastery, around which were grouped the buildings necessary for carrying on the work of the neighbouring farms.

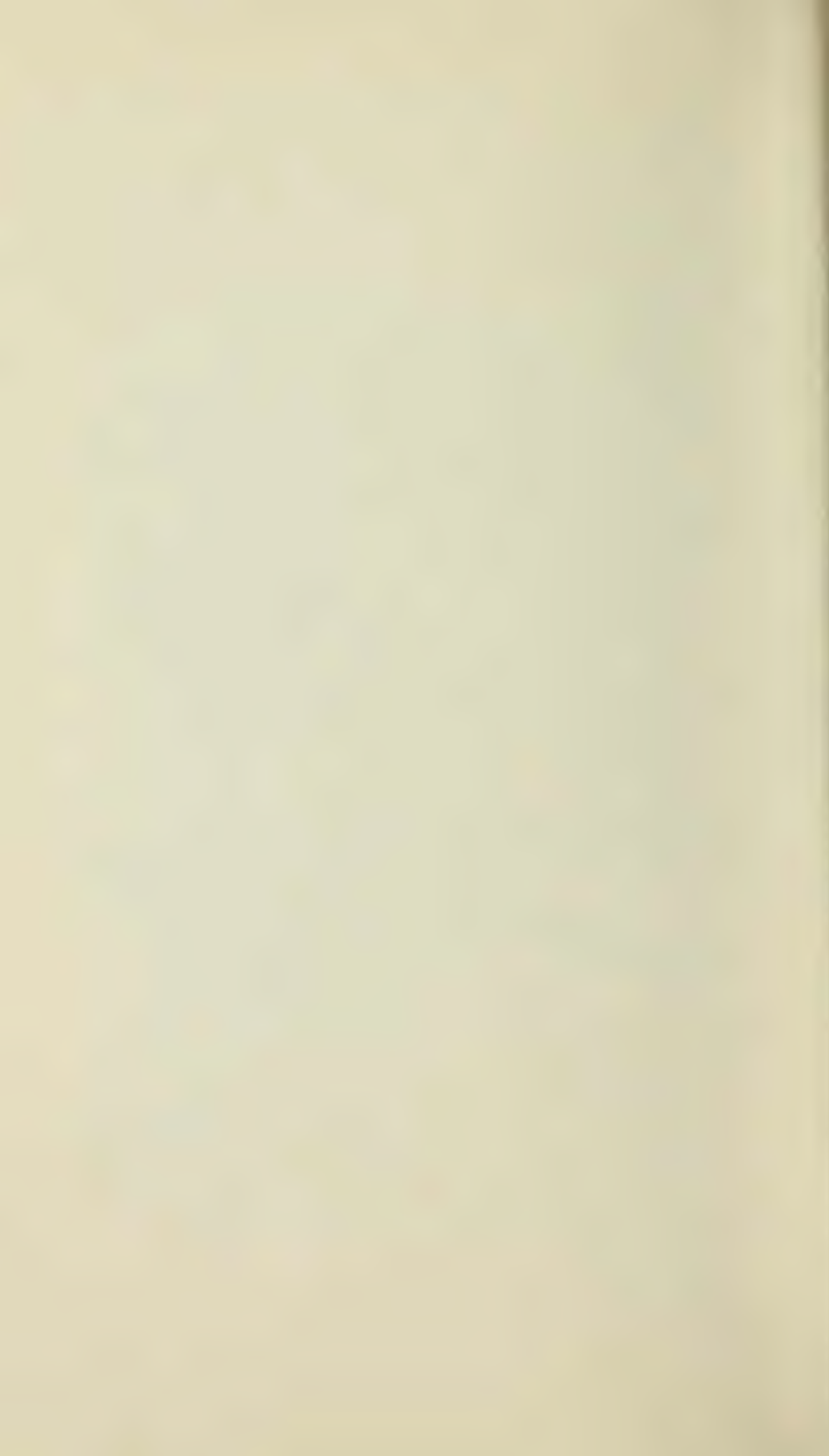
The residents were chiefly lay brothers, who formed a community, governed by officers elected by themselves. A few monks lived at some of the granges, such as Park and St. Leonards, where there were chapels.

There are at the present date (1911) farms at Harford, Otterwood, and St. Leonards. Lodge Farm is probably Bocke Lodginge, and the Park of Thorougham is now represented by Park Farm.

At St. Leonards there are the remains of a chapel and of a very large barn.



THE EAST END OF ST. LEONARD'S CHAPEL.



The following description of the great barn at St. Leonards and of the chapel there are taken from Warner's "History of Hampshire"¹:—"The ruin of which I am at present speaking consists of the gavel (*i.e.*, gable) ends of a vast barn. . . . In it was probably deposited the larger proportion of the yearly produce of the abbatial lands. The dimensions of this barn are as follows—226 feet in length, 77 feet in breadth, and upwards of 60 feet in height. A barn of considerable size, built with the materials of the ancient one, is within its end walls."

"Within an old stone enclosure, which surrounds this barn and St. Leonards farmhouse, are the remains of a most beautiful chapel, which must have been finished in the highest style of architectural magnificence. Little, however, of its pristine glory is now discoverable, since the ruin has long been applied to the ignoble purposes of a goose-house and hog-stye. The eastern end is the most perfect. The altar piece is supported on each side by an elegant Gothic niche adorned with lateral pinnacles, richly embossed, and a Saracenic arch, crowned with a cross.

"The window, also over the altar piece, the opposite one at the western end, and the doorway under it, concur to assure us this edifice must have been, in its original and perfect state, an example of exquisite Gothic architecture. I trace an intimate resemblance between the mouldings, niches, plasters, &c., of this ruin and some small fragments which remain at Beaulieu Abbey,"²

St. Leonard's Chapel has in more recent days been treated with proper respect, and no traces now remain of the goose-house and the hog-stye.

¹ Vol. I., p. 234.

² Vol. I., p. 235.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

THE first step towards the dissolution of the monasteries was taken when Cardinal Wolsey, in 1524, obtained grants from the King for suppressing a number of the smaller houses with fewer than seven inmates, in order to found a College at Oxford, at first known as Cardinal College, then as Christ's College, and now as Christchurch; and another at Ipswich. What exact object was uppermost in Wolsey's mind cannot be known, but his method of proceeding gave rise to considerable disturbance in various parts of the country, and was a material factor in bringing about his downfall in 1529, which was followed by his death in the following year.

Wolsey, in his letter to the King, calls them certain exile (*i.e.*, poor, lean, endowed with small revenues, not *exiles*) and small monasteries wherein neither God is served nor religion kept. Zealous churchmen were alarmed at this manner, and rightly regarded it as likely to lead to a general dissolution of the religious houses. Some of the abbats attempted to avert the danger by offering sums of money for his College instead of their abbey lands, and popular dissatisfaction was manifested by attempts to reinstate the dispossessed monks. Such a one is thus described:—

“You have heard before how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the which one was called Beggam, in Sussex, the which was verie commodious to the country; but so befell the cause, that a riotous company, disguised and unknowne, with painted faces and visers, came to the

same monasterie and brought with them the chanons (*i.e.*, canons) and put them in their place again, and promised them that whensoever they rang the bell they would come with a great power and defend them. Thys doying came to the eare of the King's counsayle, which caused the chanons to be taken and they confessed the capitaynes (*i.e.*, leaders), which were imprisoned and sore punished."¹

Towards the end of February 1535-6, the Bill for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries passed the English Parliament. Grafton says :—"In this time was geven unto the King, by the consent of the great and fatte abbattes, all the religious houses that were of the value of three hundred marks and under in the hope that their great monasterys should have continued still. But even at that time one sayde in the parliament house that these were as thornes, but the great abbattes were putrefyed olde okes, and they must needs followe; and so will other do in Christendome, quoth Doctor Stokesley, bishop of London, or many yeres be passed."

The full title of the Act was "An Acte whereby relygeous Houses of Monkes, Chanons and Nonnes whiche may dyspend Manors, Landes, Tenementes, and heredytamentes, above the clere yearly value of ii. c. li. are geven to the Kings highnes, his heires and successors for ever." (27^o Henry VIII. c. 28.)

The preamble is too long to quote in full, but opens as follows :—

"For as moche as manifest syune, vicious, carnall, and abhomynable lyvying is dayly used and commytted amonges the lytell and small abbeys, pryoryes, and other relygeous houses of monkes, chanons, and nonnes, where the congregation of such relygyous persons is under the number of XII. persons, whereby the gouvernours of such relygyous houses and thir covent spoyle, dystroye, consume, and

¹ Grafton, "Chron.," p. 382, new edition.

utterly wast, as well as ther churches, monasteryes, pryoryes, principall houses, fermes, granges, landes, tenementes, and heredytamentes, as the ornamentes, of ther churches and ther goodes and cattalle, to the high dyspleasour of Almyghty God, slaunder of good relygyon, and to the greate infamy of the Kinge's hignes and the realme if"

Elsewhere in the preamble it is suggested that the ejected monks would go to raise the numbers in the "great, solemn monasteries wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed."

The following account of the "great deliberation" which preceded the passing of the Bill is by Sir Henry Spelman, who was born in 1562, less than thirty years after the event:—

"It is true the parliament gave them to him, but so unwilling (as I have heard) that when the Bill had stuck long in the lower house and could get no passage, he commanded the Commons to attend him in the forenoon in his gallery, where he let them wait till late in the afternoon, and then coming out of his chamber, walking a turn or two among them, and looking angrily on them, first on one side and then on the other, at last, 'I hear' (saith he) 'that my Bill will not pass, but I will have it pass, or I will have some of your heads,' and without other rhetoric or persuasion returned to his chamber. Enough was said, the Bill passed, and all was given him as he desired."¹

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ABBEYS.

The manner of dissolving the abbeys by King Henry VIII. is thus described in an ancient writing, from Cotton MS., Titus F. III, fol. 266²:—

¹ "Hist. of Sacrilege," ed. 1853, p. 206, quoted by Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. I., p. 312.

² Camden Soc. Pub., No. XXVI., p. 133.

“The furst entraunce was a president gewen by Cardinall Wolsey, who under pretense of and four better abilitie to bilde his sumptuous colledge, dessolved certaine small housses, and by that doinge of himselfe, I doubt not with good warraunt from Rome, he did make loose in others the conscience towardes those houses. After him there came to the kinges service Mr. Cromwell, whoe had served the cardinall in these former doinges.

“That Cromwell was the man that by his zeall, his wisdom, and his couradge, was Goods instrument to carrie all to good effect. These means he used. He first found means to perswade the king that it might lawfully be done; that for his crowne and state in saftie it was necessarie to be done, four that he made appeare to the kinge howe by their meanes the pope and clergie had so greate auctorite, revenue, alliaunce, and principallie captivitie of the sowles and obedience of subjectes, that they were able to put kinge in hazarde at their will; that for his revenue and maintenaunce of his estates, warres and affaires, both in peace and in warre, at home and abroad, with others, it was moste profitable to dissolve them for augmentacion of his treasure.

“Cromwell caused preachers to goe abroad, and maintayned them to instructe the people, and so to perswade the subjectes consciences to stand fast to the king without feare of the popes curse, or his desolving of his allegience.

“He caused to be placed in the archebushopes place Cranmer, and in divers other bushopricks and hier places in the clearge divers protestantes, by meanes wherof he was able to execute greate things amonge themselves, and they were not able so muche as to enter into any full and perfect counsell against them, muche lesse to put any thing in publicke execution, as against the former kinges of theis realme.

“He knewe that the clergie had in king Richardes the

Secondes time suborned an other with pretense of a next title to depose the kinge; he knew that his clergie were attemptinge the like with the marquies of Exetar.

“He perswaded the king by maintteininge of *equum jus*, and by holdinge-downe the over-emminent power of soche greate ones as in time paste, like bell-wethers, had led the sheppeshe flockes of England against their prince, to knett faste to him the love of his commons and specially of his cittie of London.

“He placed abbattes and ffriers in divers great housses and divers lerned men perswaded against these supersti(ti)ens, which men were redie to make surrender of their houses of the kinges commandement.

“He caused the king to restrayne all payment at Rome, and all resorte of his subjectes thither, either for suites, appells, faculties, or other causes, wherby both he kept treasure and held it from his ennemies, and restrained his ennemies from fliinge to foren partes or conference with them. He caused visitacions to be made of all the religious houses touching their conversations, wheruppon was retourned the booke called the Blacke Booke, expressing of every such the vile lives and abhominable factes in murders of their bretherne, in unspeakable crimes, in destroying of children, in forging of deedes, and other infinite horrors of life, in so much as deviding of all the religious persons in England into three partes, two of these partes at the least committed unspeakable crimes and this appeared in writing with the names of the parties and their factes. This was shewn in parliament and the villaines made known and abhorred.

“He caused the king of the abbes possessions to make suche dispersion, as it behoved infinite multitudes for their owne intrest to joyne with the king in hollding them downe, whiche he did by divers means, and these amoung other: by ffownding divers bushopricks and colleges

with these possessions, selling many of them to many men four reasonable prises, exchainging many of them with the nobilitie and other for their auncient possession to their greate gaine with whome he exchainged, preferring many sufficient persons to the kinges servis who were sone raised to nobilitie and to worshipe and good calling, and all indewed with maintenaunce out of the revenewes of abbyes.

“Here is all I can remember.

“There was also used for the manner of dessolution—

“First, divers abbates and other that could be thereunto perswaded, or were some of them four the purpose placed by the king, made surrender of their houses and conveied them to the kinge by order of lawe, and had competent pencions both themselves and their companie during their lives. Somme beinge detected by the said visitacion, to have the kinges favour not to punishe them with rigour, not to publishe their infamie for their vile factes, were likewise content to surrender.

“For all the rest, which were not then many, the parliament being made acquainted with their vile lives, were redely contented both to confirme the surrender, and geive their consyntes to the geving of all the reaste to the kinge.”

The foregoing represents the traditional view of the state of the religious houses at the date of their suppression, and presents a picture of iniquity which nearly all English boys for generations have been brought up to regard as a faithful representation of the truth.

It must here suffice to state that the evidence upon which this belief is based has been critically examined by recent historians, and has been rejected as being in great part false.

That it may be true as regards some of the monasteries is very probable ; but that it is not so of the majority has been conclusively proved by the researches of Dr. Gairdner.

and the Abbé Gasquet (Henry the Eighth and the English Monasteries).

“It is impossible for many reasons to attach much credit to these reports or to think highly of the character of the visitors.”¹

The men whom Cromwell employed to report upon the monasteries were paid hirelings, intent upon their own advancement, and seeking to attain it by getting as much plunder for their master as possible, whilst keeping all they dared for themselves; unscrupulous in statement, convicted of accepting bribes, and persons upon whose oath no one now would “hang a dog.”

Those who are interested in this question, which is unsuited for full consideration here, and are ready to give a fair hearing to what is to be said on the other side are recommended to read the Abbé Gasquet’s work on Henry the Eighth and the English Monasteries.

Cromwell was arrested on June 10th, 1540, and was beheaded on Tower Hill on June 28. Amongst the charges made against him was that he “hath acquired and obtained into his possession, by oppression, bribery, extorted power, and false promises,” immense sums of money and treasure.

“The silver vessels, including many crosses, chalices, mitres, vases, and other spoils of the Church, might amount to rather more than £7,000 sterling.

“He maintained his position by pure obsequiousness, and there was no kind of tyranny of which he declined to be the agent. He was continually open to bribes, and was guilty of many acts of simony.”²

¹ Gairdner, *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. II., p. 444.

² *Ibid.*, vol. II., p. 452.



CHAPTER XXII.

THE SURRENDER OF THE ABBEY.

ALTHOUGH the humour of the situation was probably not seen and certainly not appreciated by Thomas the Abbat and the 20 monks who formed the community at Beaulieu when they signed on April 2nd, 1538, the document which follows, it is nevertheless there.

One can almost see the Commissioner taking from a wallet one of a number of parchment scrolls, a common form with blank spaces to be filled in according to the circumstances of each abbey visited. The deed bears the impress of having been drawn up by a lawyer, probably in the Court of Chancery of the Lord the King, assisted perhaps by a clerk in the Court of Augmentations (Increment!); such an individual as would now find a fitting place in the Department of Inland Revenue. Perhaps it was supplied to the Commissioners before they left London. It is a rather mean looking thing on a parchment membrane about 24 by 12 inches, with the seal in wax hanging from the centre of the lower border. The names are written upon the left-hand margin. They were so sure beforehand of the "unanimous assent and consent" of the monks that there would be no necessity to leave a blank at that point; and they would have been equally certain that after "deliberating in their minds" the monks would of their "own mere motion" and their "own accord" surrender what they could no longer retain.

One would like to sprinkle the precious document with commas, and throw in a few semicolons, aids to

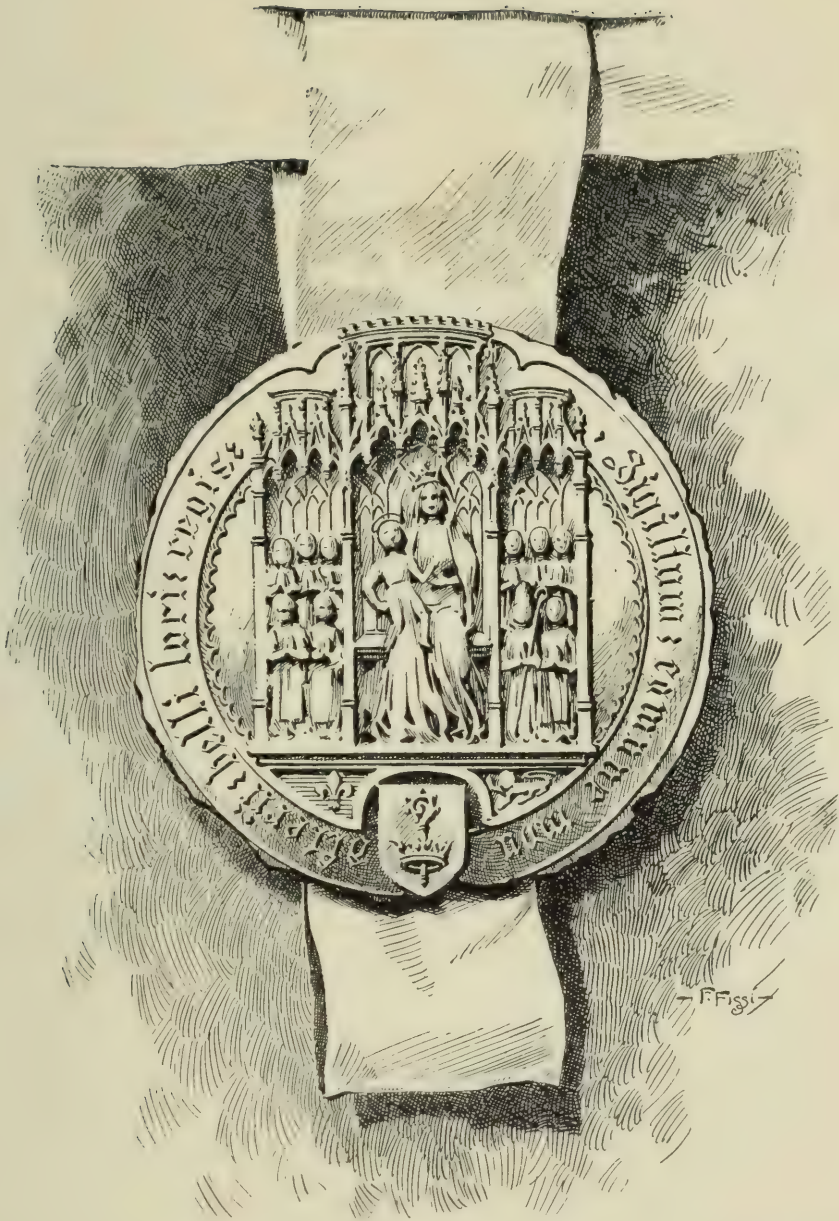
the clearer understanding of writings, so abhorrent to the legal mind.

SURRENDER OF BEAULIEU ABBEY, No. 17.

To all those faithful in Christ to whom the present writing shall come Thomas of the Monastery or Abbey of the Blessed Mary the Virgin of King's Beaulieu in the County of Southampton of the Cistercian order and of the Convent of the same place Greetings in the Lord for ever Know ye that we the aforesaid Abbat and Convent by unanimous assent and consent deliberating in our minds by our certain knowledge and mere motion from certain just and reasonable causes specially moving us our minds and our consciences willingly and of our own accord have given granted and by these presents give grant render and confirm to our illustrious prince and Lord Henry 8th by the grace of God King of England and France defender of the faith Lord of Ireland and on earth supreme head of the Church of England.

All our said Monastery or Abbey of King's Beaulieu aforesaid and all the site soil circuit and precinct of the same Monastery of Beaulieu aforesaid.

Also all and singular our Manors lordships messuages gardens courtyards tofts lands and tenements meadows feedings pastures woods rents reversions services mills passages knights fees wardships marriages neifs villeins with their consequences commons liberties franchises jurisdictions offices courts leet hundreds views of frankpledge fairs markets parks warrens vivaries waters fisheries ways roads vacant soil advowsons nominations presentations and gifts of Churches vicarages Chapels Chantries hospitals and other Ecclesiastical Benefices whatsoever Rectories vicarages chantries pensions portions annuities tithes oblations and all and singular



THE SEAL OF THE ABBEY ATTACHED TO THE DEED OF SURRENDER,
NOW IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

At the back of the Seal are the finger-marks of the hand that compressed the wax into the mould; every line is as distinct as it was on April 2nd, 1538. If living, the person could be identified with certainty. Was it the hand of Thomas Stevens, Abbas Ultimus?

emoluments profits possessions hereditaments and rights whatsoever as well within the said County of Southampton within our Counties of Surrey Berks Cornwall and elsewhere within the Kingdom of England Wales and Marches of the same to the same Monastery or Abbey of King's Beaulieu in anywise belonging appertaining appendant or incumbent.

And all our Charters Evidences writings and muniments to the same Monastery or Abbey Manors lands and tenements and other the premises with the appurtenances or to any parcel thereof in anywise belonging or concerning.

To have hold and enjoy the said Monastery or Abbey site soil circuit and precinct of King's Beaulieu aforesaid also all and singular the Lordships Manors tenements Rectories pensions and other the premises with all and singular their appurtenances to our aforesaid most invincible prince and Lord the King his heirs and assigns for ever to whom in this part to all effect of right which therefrom shall be able or can ensue we subject and submit us and the said Monastery or Abbey of King's Beaulieu and all rights by us in anywise acquired as it is fit. Giving and granting as by these presents we give and grant to the same Royal majesty his heirs and assigns all and every full and free faculty authority and power to dispose of us and the said Monastery of King's Beaulieu aforesaid together with all and singular the Manors lands tenements rents reversions services and each of the premises with their rights and appurtenances whatsoever and for his free royal will at his pleasure to be alienated given converted and transferred to whatsoever uses may please his majesty the gifts dispositions alienations conversions and translations of the like by his said majesty in anywise to be made. Thenceforth we promise by these presents that we will have them ratified established and accepted and for ever valid. And as all and singular the premises may

take effect according to their due We have renounced and yielded as by these presents we renounce and yield and from the same we withdraw in these writings the elections moreover to us and our successors also all complaints provocations appeals actions suits and examples and whatsoever our other remedies and benefices to us perchance and to our successors in that part by pretext of the disposition alienation translation and conversion aforesaid and other the premises in anywise sued for and to be sued for and all things of treachery error fear ignorance or other matter or disposition exceptions objections and allegations entirely removed and deposed openly publickly and expressly of our certain knowledge and of our free will.

And we the aforesaid Abbat and Convent and our successors will warrant for ever by these presents the said Monastery precinct site mansion and church of King's Beaulieu aforesaid and all and singular the Manors lordships messuages gardens courtyards tofts meadows feedings pastures woods underwoods lands tenements and all and singular other the premises with all their appurtenances to our aforesaid Lord the King his heirs and assigns against all persons.

In witness whereof we the aforesaid Abbat and Convent have caused our common seal to be affixed to this writing.

Dated the 2nd day of April in the 29th year of the reign of our said Lord the King.

Acknowledged in my presence and before me
William Petre one of the clerks in the Court
of Chancery of the Lord the King on the day
and year aforesaid.

By me Thomas the Abbat

Griffyn Hamtun

By me Thomas Ydle

By me Richard Frye

By me William Coventre
 By me Walter Parthalo
 By me John Krye
 By me William Baytley
 By me Harmoneus Hampton
 By me Elaxander Alyn
 By me Robert Pyngleston
 By me Thomas Whyett
 By me Symon Hacker Kychen
 By me Thomas Galby
 By me John Sumerfylde
 By me Thomas Burtun
 By me Laurence Parker
 By me William Austen
 By me Roger Dorchier
 By me Robert Newton
 By me Richard Curlew.

Thomas Stevens received a pension of £66 13s. 4d.
 per annum. A.D. 1553 remained in charge £5 in fees,
 £15 18s. 8d. in annuities; and these pensions:—

	£	s.	d.
William Bascaville - - - -	5	0	0
Herman Hampton - - - -	5	0	0
Alexander Aleyn - - - -	5	0	0
John Kizzie - - - -	5	0	0
Robert Pinkestone - - - -	4	0	0
John Somerfield - - - -	4	0	0
Thomas Gaubie - - - -	4	0	0



CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MORTUARY ROLL.

THE heading of this chapter, although not strictly accurate in relation to its contents, is useful as recalling a practice common to the Monastic Orders, which shows that, if they had in theory given up the world, in practice they retained a kindly feeling for their brethren in other abbeys and were not unmindful of the services rendered by those who had indeed left the world.

It was part of the duty of the Precentor to draw up the "Brief" or "Mortuary Roll" by which the death of any brother was announced to monasteries of the same Order, and to ask for prayers for his soul. This document was sent by a special messenger called the "breviator," who may be regarded as the prototype of the postman, and who, notwithstanding that he always officially brought sad news, was doubtless, in his private capacity, made welcome, because he carried from one abbey to another the gossip of the day. Such documents often contained some Latin verses in praise of the dead or of sympathy with the living at their loss.

THE FOUNDER, KING JOHN.

If Henry III. had been master in his own kingdom it would not have been necessary for him to write the following letter to Pope Honorius III. (c. A.D. 1226); and had he carried out his wish the Founder might have rested in his own abbey, and his tomb might possibly have preserved it from destruction.

“Vives aliquas natura sepulchris
attribuit, tumulos vindicat umbra suos.”

Seneca : *Epigr.*

Even heathens thought that some power of retribution was given to violated tombs.

Be it known to your holiness that John, sometime King of England, our father, of serene memory, founded the house of Beaulieu, as is known to many in England ; therefore, in the same house he chose his burying place after the common death, and as it is said he solemnly vowed this ; but afterwards, in the time of the disturbance of England, a very serious strife having arisen between him and his barons, he died in remote parts, so that his body could not be brought to the said house, but the bishop and monks of Worcester, by the grace of hospitality, put the royal clod in their monastery. Since it seems likely, that if in his own house which he founded he could lie buried in his corporeal presence, as he also himself disposed in his lifetime, the devotion of the brethren would be more frequently aroused to pray for him their common lord, and profit as we believe no less his aforesaid salvation. It might be very pleasing to you therefore that his vow might be fulfilled on this part, since we are bound to procure his salvation with the Lord in everything that we can. Wherefore also we beg your holiness that you deign to receive the petition of us and the brethren of Beaulieu aforesaid, which by the bearer of these presents they send to the feet of your holiness, for the bringing back of the body of the aforesaid King and our father, if it please you indulgently.

Nothing is known as to the reception of or the reply to this letter, and Worcester Cathedral still holds the remains of the founder of Beaulieu Abbey.

THE GRAVE SLAB OF ISABELLA COUNTESS OF CORNWALL.

Affixed to the north wall of the museum to the right of the lockers is a marble grave slab, 7 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 2 feet 10 inches wide. It has in the middle the case-ment for a brass effigy of a lady, under a cusped canopy with side shafts and pinnacles and two shields at the head. Surrounding the slab was an inscription of which the

beginning only is legible : + **HIC : IACET : YSABELLA : PRIM** There is good reason to believe that this slab covered the grave of Isabella Countess of Cornwall, who was buried at Beaulieu A.D. 1239.

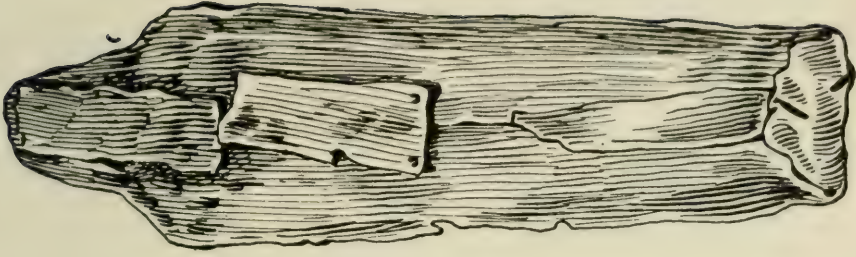
The slab remained over the grave in its original situation for centuries, but was subsequently removed to its present position. There are persons now (1911) living at Beaulieu who can remember it lying at the spot marked by the smaller cross in the middle of the Presbytery.

The site of the grave was forgotten after the removal of the slab, and was accidentally re-discovered on September 29th, 1885, when a colt belonging to the neighbouring farmer put its feet through the covering of earth and grass into the grave beneath. Within the grave was found a leaden sheeting (Plate XXI.), enclosing the body of a woman. The covering and the remains were at once re-interred, and a small cross marks the site of the grave.

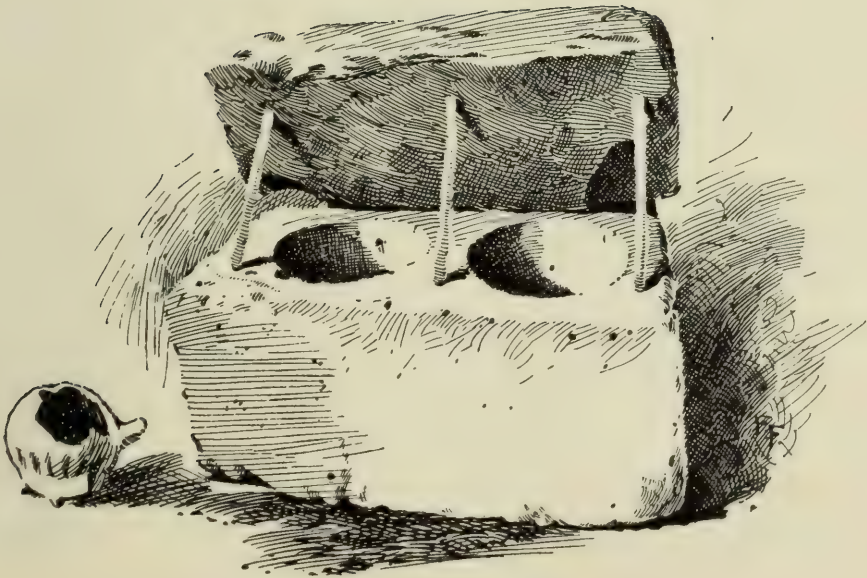
“This lady died in childbed 18 Feb. 1239, at Berkhamsted, and her body braut from thence and deposited at Beaulieu in choro.

“Elizabeth (that was the first wife of Richard earl of Cornwall) was buried in the choir of Belland, being that woman which is called Isabel. This Isabel died in the year of our redemption 1239, being the 24th year of the reign of K. Henry III. after this manner. For she being great with child and near to the time of her deliverance, fell into morbum icterium¹ or the hicket, and delivering a child into the world which had life and was baptized by the name of Nicholas, they both presently died thereupon, which thing when the earl understood, being then on his journey into Cornwall, he burst into tears and

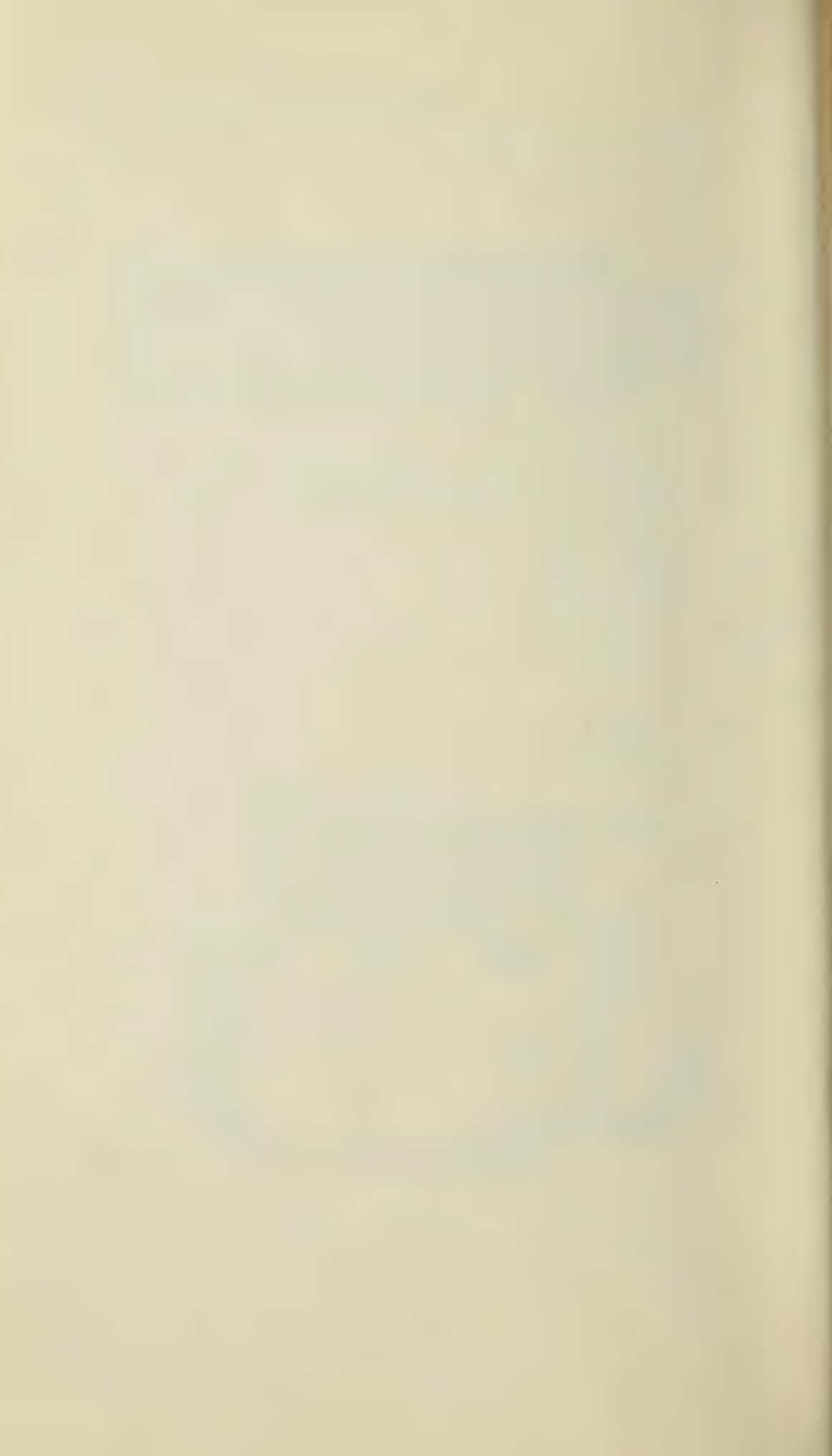
¹ Jaundice.



THE LEADEN CASE CONTAINING THE BODY OF ISABELLA
COUNTESS OF CORNWALL



THE DOUBLE HEART-COFFIN.



greatly lamented that loss. Wherefore hastily returning and leaving his former journey, he honourably buried his wife at Belland of Beaulieu, an house of religion builded by K. John from the foundation and replenished with Charterhouse (*sic*) monks."¹

THE GRAVE SLAB OF ELEANOR, DAUGHTER OF
KING EDWARD I.

Issue Roll. Mich., 4 Ed. II.

28 Aug.—Twenty marks paid to Sir Robert de Haustede, junior, knight, by his own hands for the expenses and preparations made for the burial of the body of the Lady Eleana, the King's sister at Beaulieu, by command of the Treasurer; also on the 20th November, £100 paid to Henry de Ludgareshall for the same purpose.

Edward I. had one daughter by his second marriage, named Eleanor, born at Winchester 6th May, 1306; she died in childhood. It is probable that the Lady Eleana, the King's sister, mentioned in the above order was this child, and that this is the covering of her grave.

The following account of this interesting relic is taken from a MS., unsigned and undated, in the possession of Lord Montagu:—

"The principal (monument) is a large blue speckled white marble, 10 ft. by 3 ft. and $\frac{3}{4}$ in., curiously inlaid with a white composition which is cemented into the hollows or grouves with pitch, which shews a black line all round. The white compos was afterwards engraved and the lines filled with a black composition which is for the most part effaced by being continually walked over. The representation is, as I conjecture, the figure of a lady, her head resting on a pillar standing on a bracket or Gothic pedestal

¹ Holinshed, iii., 1042 (Ed. vi.).

under a Gothic ogee arch, adorned with ogee 5 foil on two slender pillars, terminated with pinnacles and crockets and a large finial, which supports a ducal coronet between two shields, the coronet and shields seem to have been inlaid with brass, but they are tore away, the whole is enclosed with the inscription, each letter on a separate little square of white inlaid as aforesaid, of which only this is visible, of which any meaning can be made
 + JESU CRIST : OMNIPOTENT FI
 INTEM."

THE GRAVE SLAB OF DAN WILLIAM OF CORNWALL.

Another grave slab which is fixed into the north wall of the Museum is of Purbeck marble, 6 feet 5 inches long by 32 inches wide at the head, tapering to 23 inches at the foot. It is perfectly plain, but has an inscription round the edge :— + DAV | N : WILLIAME : DE : CORNWAILE | : |
 CIST : ICI : | DEV : DE SA : ALME : EIT : PITE :
 ET : M | E RCI.

Reference to the section on Newenham Abbey, a daughter-house of Beaulieu (p. 178), shows that Dan William of Cornwall, a prior of Beaulieu, was elected abbat of Newenham 12th September, 1272. He died in 1288, and was buried at Beaulieu : this slab, doubtless, covered his grave.

RICHARD EARL OF CORNWALL, KING OF THE ROMANS.

THE DOUBLE HEART-COFFIN.

It was the custom in monastic times to bury portions of the body of distinguished or much loved persons in two or in three different places under the belief that the souls of the departed would derive greater advantage from

the prayers of several congregations. Thus the heart would be sent to one abbey, the bones to another, and the flesh, after suitable preparation, to a third. As an example of this custom it may be remembered that the heart of Thomas Skevyngton, Bishop of Bangor and Abbat of Beaulieu, was buried at Bangor, and his body at Beaulieu.

A heart-coffin is one of the chief treasures of the Museum of Beaulieu Abbey, and when, in 1904, it was lent by Lord Montagu to an Antiquarian Exhibition at Southampton, the following description of it was written by Mr. Francis Joseph Baigent (Plate XXI.) :—

“Special coffins were used for heart burials, and in the case of a husband and wife such a coffin would have two spaces hollowed out to receive the ornamented receptacles in which the hearts were enclosed. This one is a block of freestone, coffin-like in form, measuring about 23 inches in length by $14\frac{1}{4}$ at one end and $12\frac{1}{4}$ at the other.

“Two heart-shaped loculi are hollowed out in the block to the depth of $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the extreme depth of the stone being about 10 inches. The lid of the coffin, nearly 3 inches thick, also of stone, is somewhat more irregular in outline, but roughly corresponds to that of the block which it covers.

“This heart-coffin was found at Beaulieu about the year 1872–3, outside the small door leading from the inner hall of the Great Gatehouse (*i.e.*, Palace House) into what is now the court or garden on the east side ; a site which in former times was occupied by the stables of Palace House.

“King John, the Founder of Beaulieu Abbey, had two sons : the elder, who succeeded his father as Henry III., was born in 1206 ; the younger, Richard, born 1209,

was created Earl of Poictou and Cornwall. Both were born at Winchester.

“In 1256, the Earl of Cornwall was elected King of the Romans, and received the Imperial Crown, and became one of the greatest men of his day, of remarkable energy and ability. He was present with the King and Queen at the consecration of the Abbey Church in 1246, and was much interested in the welfare of the Abbey, and not only added to its endowment, but arranged for his own burial within the Abbey Church, by founding a chantry in it, and making provision for the religious services to be held in commemoration of himself, &c. So fixed was this in his mind that he refused to allow his first wife, Isabella, third daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who died at Berkhamstede on the 17th January, 1239, to be buried, as she wished, in the Abbey Church at Tewkesbury, near the tomb of her first husband, and had her body interred with due honour, at Beaulieu, before the high altar, but sanctioned her heart being taken to Tewkesbury, where it was buried before the high altar in a silver-gilt cup, by Brother Henry de Siptune, Prior of Tewkesbury, who was present at her death; and her bowels were interred at Missenden Abbey, before the high altar there. Her late husband shortly afterwards set out for the Holy Land as a pilgrim, where he remained for some time, and, returning by Apulia, Sicily, and Calabria, he reached Dover on the 21st January, 1242.

“In 1245, owing, it is said, to a dream he had in the Holy Land, he founded a Cistercian Monastery at Hailes, in Gloucestershire, and colonised it with twenty monks and ten lay brothers from Beaulieu, and its church was completed and dedicated 5th November, 1251, by Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, in the presence of

the founder and his wife, King Henry III. and Queen Eleanor, thirteen Bishops, and a great multitude of nobles and other illustrious personages. This new Abbey of his own founding, apparently, took away some of his own interest in his father's monastery at Beaulieu. In 1243, Earl Richard married Sanchia, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, and sister of Queen Eleanor ; and in 1257, on his election as King of the Romans, she was crowned with her husband at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 17th May by Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne. Queen Sanchia died at Berkhamptede in November, 1261, and her body was buried at Hailes, in the Abbey Church, before the high altar. In 1269 the King of the Romans married for the third time, choosing a beautiful damsel, Beatrice de Falkenstein, a niece of Conrad von Hochstaden, Archbishop of Cologne, who, on account of her beauty, was called 'the Gem of Women.' He had no issue by this lady. In 1271 the body and heart of his eldest son, Henry of Almaine, who had been ruthlessly murdered on the 13th March, at Viterbo, in the Church of St. Blaise, were brought to London on the 13th May. His heart was placed in a vase and buried in Westminster Abbey near the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor ; his body was honourably carried to Hailes, and there, by his father's command, delivered for burial before the high altar of the Abbey Church on the 21st of May. His father, Richard, King of the Romans, died at Berkhamptede on 2nd April, 1272, and his body by his own order was buried by the side of Sanchia, his second wife, in the Abbey Church of Hailes, but his heart he directed to be buried at Beaulieu, and there it was interred. It is not unlikely that this interesting block of stone was the receptacle for the heart of this great and good man, and that the second recess in it was intended for the reception of the heart of his

widow, Beatrice, the Queen of the Romans and 'the Gem of Women.' Beatrice died 17th October, 1277, and is stated to have been buried before the high altar in the church of the Friars Minors at Oxford, and her heart may have been brought to Beaulieu and placed within this coffin by the side of that of her husband."

SWEET-HEART ABBEY.

Sweet-Heart Abbey near Dumfries, also of the Cistercian Order, was actually built to receive as its most treasured possession the heart of the never-forgotten husband of the Lady Devorguil, of the House of Balliol, whose romantic story is told by Mr. Wentworth Huyshe in "The Royal Manor of Hitchin," a delightful work, to which I am indebted for much that follows. The Lady Devorguil was a daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, by Margaret, daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the grandson of David I., King of Scotland.

A better lady than sche was none
In all the Yle of Mare Bretane.

ANDREW DE WYNTON.

Her husband was John de Balliol, who succeeded to the vast estates of his father, Hugh de Balliol, in 1228; estates which became still more extensive after his marriage with the great heiress of the Lord of Galloway.

John de Balliol was appointed in 1251 to be one of the Regents of Scotland, on the marriage of the young King Alexander III. with Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England.

Some years later he quarrelled with the Prince Bishop of Durham, in whose diocese, one of his great strongholds, Barnard's Castle, was situated, and was only received back into the fold of the Church after submitting to a

penance which is thus described in the Chronicle of Lanercost :—

“In the year 1260 the Lord Walter de Chirkham, Bishop of Durham, departed this life, full of days, a man gentle and pure ; in person little, but in mind very large and devout, who loved to survey not the woods but the Psalms. He was of such authority in the exercise of his office that he was honoured and feared by the mightiest, and he sternly checked those that rebelled against the Church.”

“Now it happened that a Baron of his diocese, a man well renowned in the whole of England, had gotten himself drunk with beer, quite contrary to the fair esteem befitting his rank, and done other evil disrespectful to the Church. When he heard of the audacity, the pious pastor admonished him that he should make amend ; but inasmuch as pride chooses rather to be confounded than to be corrected, he added scorn to effrontery. But the Bishop, strengthening his heart, so sagaciously brought back his erring son to his bosom, that with much ceremony, at the entrance of Durham Cathedral, and before the eyes of all the people, he suffered whipping at the hands of the Bishop, and assigned a sum of fixed maintenance to be continued for ever to scholars studying at Oxford.”

To this occasion and to this endowment, which, after his death, his widow, the Lady Devorguil, greatly increased, Balliol College, Oxford, owes its origin.

John de Balliol died in 1268, and “when the Balliol that was her lord gave up his soul to his Creator, she caused his body to be opened, and his heart taken out entire, and embalmed with sweet smelling and flavouring spices, and caused it to be laid in a coffer of ivory, enamelled and perfectly adorned, and locked and bound with bright silver. And always, when she went to meat, she had the coffer set at the table and did reverence to

it as though her lord were present. And when she rose the courses were distributed amongst the poor. And this she never ceased to do while she lived. And in her will she ordained that the heart should be laid upon her breast and buried with her.”—ANDREW DE WYNTON.

In 1275 the Lady Devorguil built upon the River Nith, near Dumfries, under the shadow of Criffel, the “Abbey of the Sweet Heart,” and upon its completion the casket containing her husband’s heart was placed within it. The Lady Devorguil de Balliol lived to see three of her sons succeed to the Balliol estates ; she was twenty-two years a widow and died in 1290, when the casket was, no doubt, buried with her, as she had directed and before the high altar. In the Chronicle of Lanercost her death is thus recorded :—

“On the Feast of St. Agnes (January 21st) in the evening, passed from this world the noble dame, Lady Devorguil, widow of the Lord John de Balliol. She was a woman largely endowed with money and lands, both in England and Scotland ; but she had a much richer endowment in the nobility of her heart, being daughter and heiress of the magnificent Alan, sometime Lord of Galloway ; she passed from the world full of years at Castle Barnard, and was buried at Du Quer (*i.e.*, Doux Cœur—Sweet Heart Abbey) in Galloway, a monastery of Cistercians, which she herself built and endowed.”

DEVORGUILLA, OR THE ABBEY OF THE SWEET-HEART.

In grey Criffel’s lap of granite
Lies the Abbey, saintly fair !
Well the heart that first did plan it
Finds her earthly resting there :
Who from out an age of wildness,
Lawless force, unbridled crime,
Reached forth wise hands in mildness
Helpful to the coming time.

The rude Galloway chieftain's daughter—
 Memory of her Norman Knight,
 And long widowed sorrow taught her
 To make good deeds her delight.

* * * * *

"Build me here, high-towered and solemn,
 Abbey church in fairest style—
 Pointed arch and fluted column,
 Ranged down transept, nave and aisle."

There the dear heart laid in holy
 Place, the altar steps before,
 Down she knelt herself in lowly
 Adoration on that floor.

Thither day by day she wended,
 On that same spot knelt and prayed;
 There at last, when all was ended,
 With the heart she loved was laid.

* * * * *

PRINCIPAL JOHN CAMPBELL SHAIRP.

The part of the Lay-brothers Refectory, which is still standing, is now a museum; in it will be found these and other interesting relics of the past that have been discovered amongst the ruins of the Abbey, and also such documents as throw light upon its history during monastic times.



CHAPTER XXIV.

THE GRANT OF BEAULIEU MANOR TO THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.

THE deed by which the lands, rights, privileges and immunities formerly belonging to the Abbat and Monastery of Beaulieu Abbey were conveyed to Thomas Wriothesley commences as follows :—

Patent Roll. 30 Henry VIII. Part 2, M. 27.

“The King to all to whom &c. greeting. Know ye that we as well for the good and acceptable service to us by our beloved servant Thomas Wriothesley Esq^{re}. hitherto in many ways bestowed upon us as for **one thousand three hundred and fifty pounds six shillings and eight pence** of our lawful money of England well and faithfully paid into the hand of the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations of the revenues of our Crown for our use with which we confess that we are content of our special grace and of our own certain knowledge and mere motion we have given granted and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do give and grant to the same Thomas Wriothesley his heirs and assigns all the house and site of the late Monastery of Beaulieu otherwise King’s Beaulieu in our County of Southampton.”

The sum which was paid for the property—viz., £1,350 6s. 8d.—when multiplied by, say, 10,¹ to represent the difference in the value of money in 1538–9 and to-day, amounts to £13,503 6s. 8d., which was probably its full market value at the time. Whatever may have happened as regards the other properties which Thomas Wriothesley obtained—and they were not a few—he did not receive the Manor of Beaulieu as a gift from

¹ Some writers multiply by 12 or even by 20.

the King. The popular idea that all the monastic lands were given to the King's favourites overlooks the fact that one of the chief reasons which induced the House of Commons to give their consent to the Bill for the Suppression of the Monasteries (fear of the King was another) was a belief that it would lead to a great remission of taxation. It is not obvious how this could be effected or how the King would be the better off, if, after obtaining possession of these properties, he proceeded at once, and for no consideration whatever, to give them to others.

The deed of transfer continues, in the same legal phraseology and without the relief of a comma, semicolon, or full stop, to recite with extreme minuteness all the rights which were thus conveyed and which have already been sufficiently enumerated in the chapter on the Surrender of the Abbey. In order, however, to establish clearly the fact that "the Great Close of Beaulieu," over which, as we have already seen, the rights of sanctuary were exercised, covered a very large area, it may be well to recite those sections of the document in which it is mentioned, although its limits are not precisely defined.

"And all that our Manor of Beaulieu otherwise King's Beaulieu with all its members and appurtenances in our same County of Southampton And all our vill land earth and soil of Beaulieu otherwise King's Beaulieu also that **our great close** and all our land earth and soil called the great close of Beaulieu And all lands tenements messuages cottages meadows pastures woods underwoods and profits within the precinct and circuit of the same great close And also all and singular our lordships manors messuages cottages tofts mills gardens dovecotes granges orchards courtyards lands and tenements meadows feeding pastures woods underwoods felled timber moors marshes furze heath reversions rents and services customs annuities rents and farms of out tenants and farmers cleared lands lands enclosed waters pools vivaries rivers rivulets banks and passages parks liberties of parks waste commons Court leets escheats

reliefs heriots vivaries warrens fisheries turbaries ways
roads vacant soil and all liberties franchises and jurisdic-
tions commodities and all profits and all and singular
our other rights privileges possessions and hereditaments
of whatsoever nature kind or species they be or by what-
soever names they may be known named recognised or
reputed situate lying and being in the vill and parish of
Beaulieu otherwise King's Beaulieu in our said County of
Southampton And all that close of land called . . .
(blank in original) lying near or next the boundaries of the
said close called the great close of Beaulieu **also those our
three chapels of Boverey Thorougham and St. Leonards
situate within the boundaries of the aforesaid great
close which belonged** or appertained or could or might
belong or appertain to the late Abbey of Beaulieu other-
wise King's Beaulieu in our said County of Southampton
or to any Abbat of the same so fully and entirely and in
so ample a manner as any Abbat of the same late Monastery
formerly held had or enjoyed or could or might hold have
or enjoy came into our hands in right of that Monastery."

* * * *

"PROVIDED ALWAYS that neither these our letters patent
nor anything in them contained should extend to the
liberties privileges and immunities of the Sanctuaries within
the Monastery village and limits of the great close of
Beaulieu aforesaid hitherto used claimed or sold by the
aforesaid late Abbat and Convent or any of his predecessors
Which we declare and publish to be long ago extinct void
and annihilated as also we annihilate extinguish and
enact by these presents In witness whereof &c. Witness
the King at Terlyng 29th day of July (1539) By the King
himself &c."

It is under the terms of this very comprehensive title-
deed that the manor of Beaulieu has been held for upwards
of 370 years and is held to-day. It is a family tradition
that John Duke of Montagu successfully maintained his
right under this deed to exemption from the payment of
all tolls on his journeys from London to Beaulieu.



CHAPTER XXV.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ABBEY.

“Who sees these dismal heaps but would demand
 What barbarous invader sacked the land?
 But when he learns no Goth, no Turk did bring
 This desolation but a Christian King;
 When nothing but the name of zeal appears
 ’Twixt our best actions and the best of theirs;
 What does he think our sacrilege would spare,
 When such th’ effects of our devotion are?”

WHO was responsible for the destruction of the Abbey? Thomas Wriothesley or King Henry VIII.?

Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. Brakspear state that the former was the guilty person.

“The whole of the building was systematically removed to the foundations by Thomas Wriothesley after the suppression.”¹

Also, “The Abbey was surrendered by Thomas Stephens on April 2nd, 1538. It was not, however, until 29th July, 1539, that the site, etc. of the Abbey was granted in fee by letters patent to Thomas Wriothesley. The greater part of the buildings seem *thereupon*² to have been pulled down and the materials sold, apparently to be used in the new block-houses then in course of construction on the adjacent sea-coasts.”

The Beaulieu river, which up to then had been of so much service to the Abbey, now proved to be a chief factor in its destruction, for it cannot be doubted that

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

² The italics are mine.

the facilities afforded by water carriage of the materials of which it was built influenced their use for such a nefarious purpose.

The building of block-houses and the fortification of the coast were certainly matters which concerned the King far more than Thomas Wriothesley, and we know that the King took a very active share in that work. Hurst Castle, Calshot Castle, two large block-houses at Cowes, and probably other smaller works of the same kind, were all constructed, at least in part, from materials taken from Beaulieu Abbey.

The following references to the two block-houses at Cowes are from "Collections for the History of Hampshire,"¹ by D. Y. and Richard Warner," and from Warner's "History of Hampshire"² :—

"Leland in his Itinerary thus describes them :—
'Ther be two new castelles, sette up and furnished at the mouth of Newporte

" 'That that is sette on the este side of the haven is caullid the Est Cows; and that that is sette up at the west syde is callid the West Cows, and is the bigger castelle of the two. The trajectus between these two castelles is a good myle.' " Of these, Camden cites some Latin verses made by Leland, which are thus translated by Bishop Gibson :—

"The two great Cows, that in loud thunder roar,
This on the eastern, that on the western shore,
Where Newport enters stately Wight."

"These fortifications were probably raised by the King about the year 1539 or 1540 when alarms of foreign invasions had circulated through the kingdom; and it was deemed prudent, in consequence thereof, to put the coasts in a proper state of defence."

¹ Vol. I., p. 203.

² Vol. II., p. 7.

Hall, in his Chronicle, 1539, says :—

“The Kynges Hyghness, which never ceased to stody, and take pain both for the avauncement of the commonwealth of this his realme of Englande, of which he was the only supreme governor and hed, and also for the defence of all the same, was lately enfourmed, by his trustie and faithful frendes that the cankard and cruel Serpent, the Byshope of Rome by that arche traitor Reginald Poole, enemy to Godes word, and his natural contrey, had moved and stirred dyverse princes and potentates of Christendome to invade the realme of England, and utterlie to destroy the whole nation of the same; wherefore his Majestie in his own personne, without any delay, toke very laborious and painefull journeys towards the sea coastes; also he sent dyvers of his nobles and counsaylors to view, and search all the portes and daungers on the coastes, where any meete or convenient landyng place might be supposed as well on the borders of England as also of Wales, and in all such doubtfull places his hyghness caused dyverse and many bulwarkes and fortifications to be made.”

The following letter shows that the King had not forgotten what he must have observed at the time of his visit to Beaulieu, viz., that the roof of the Abbey was covered with lead!

William Earl of Southampton to Lord Cromwell
concerning Block-houses to be made at Calshot Point
and Cowes.¹

“Please it your good Lordshippe this bearer my felowe Miles came hedre to have spoken with you. The cause of whose comming in your Lordshippe’s absence I have declared to the King, wiche resteth in thies to poyntes (these two points). The tone (*i.e.*, ton of lead) for the workes at Calshoris poyne, tooching wiche his -sayeing is, that

¹ MS. Cotton, Titus, B. 1; fol. 396 (orig.).

the Barbican of the Towre wol bee readie by Michaelmas if they may knowe where to have covring for it. And in that the Kinges Majeste is resolvid that there shalbe led (lead) takin aswel for the said Barbican, as the Towre itself, of the leades that arr at Beauley ; so that for delivery of the same Maistre Wriothisley must make a warraunt and his Grace wol signe it.”¹

From the following letter it is clear that the King's workmen were actually engaged upon the destruction of the beautiful building which had doubtless for many generations been the pride of the country around.

“1539. Certificate of Thomas Kanner, clerk, surveyor of the King's works, John Multon, master mason, and John Russell, master carpenter, to the Lord Admiral, concerning the making of two block-houses at East Cowe and West Cow in the Isle of Wight.”²

“They find the foundation of the block-house at Est Cowe digged and the wall brought up 4 feet above ground. Have set 170 persons to work to finish it according to the platte devised by the King. Their wages will amount to £113 6s. 8d. a month. The carriage of stuff, taking down stone at the Monasteries of Beaulieu and Quarre, &c., will amount to £160 a month. At West Cowe the expenses will be the same. Total for both houses, £546 13s. 4d.

“Can finish it by Michaelmas or sooner with more men.”

Signed : Thomas Canner, Clerke ; John Mowlton, Masson ; John Russell, Carpenter.

Fancy describing the stones of Beaulieu Abbey as “stuff” !

Schoolboys can work out the following :—If 170 men earn £113 6s. 8d. a month, how many men were pulling down Beaulieu Abbey and Quarr Abbey ?

¹ Ellis : Original Letters, 2nd Series, vol. II., Letter CXXII.

² “Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.,” XIV., I., 416 (No. 899).

The following letter from one of the visitors appointed by Cromwell to receive the surrender of Joreval Abbey in Yorkshire is equally convincing evidence that it was the King and his mercenary minister, Cromwell, who were responsible for the destruction of the Abbeys of the Cistercians in England.

Burton has the following letter to Lord Cromwell from one of the visitors of this Abbey in the time of Henry VIII.¹ :—

“Pleasythe your lordship to be advertysed I have taken down all the lead of Jervaux and made it into pecys of half foddors,² which lead amounteth to the number of eighteen score and five foddors, with thirty and four foddors and a half that were there before : and the said lead cannot be conveit, nor carried until the next sombre, for the ways in that countre are so foul and deep, that no caryage can pass in wyntre. And as concerninge the raising and taking down the House, if it be your lordship’s pleasure I am minded to let it stand to the next spring of the year, by reason of the days are now so short it would be double charges to do it now. And as concerninge the selling of the bells, I cannot sell them above fifteen shillings the hundred ; wherein I would gladly know your lordship’s pleasure, whether I should sell them after that price, or send them up to London ; and if they be sent up, surely the caryage will be costly from that place to the water. And as for Bridlington, I have done nothing there as yet, but spayreth it to March next, because the days are now so very short ; and from such time as I begin, I trust shortly to dispatch it after such a fashion, that when all is finished, I trust your lordship hath appointed me to doo ; and thus the Holy Ghost ever preserve your lordship in honour. At York, this

¹ Dug., “Mon.,” vol. V., p. 567.

² A fodder = 2,400 lbs.

14th day of November 1538. By your lordship's most bounden beadman,

RICHARD BELLYCIS."

It is evident from this letter that in the minds of those who for mercenary reasons were bent upon the destruction of the abbeys, the lead upon the roofs was more important than the stone of which they were built, and we learn by a letter from John Freman, one of the visitors to Cromwell, dated 7th May, 1588,¹ that "since the surrender of Beulaie some lead has been embezzled."

If any doubts should still remain as to who was really responsible the following ought to set it at rest:—

John Freman to the Lord Privy Seal, that the razing of the Abbeys of Lincolnshire would be costly to the King.²

"It may please your good Lordship to understand that the King's Commission commandeth me to pull down to the ground all the walls of the churches, steeples, cloisters, fraters, dorters, chapter houses, with all other houses saving them that be necessary for a farmer. Sir, there be more great Houses in Lincolnshire than be in all England beside suppressed, of their *valowis* (?) with thick walls and most part of them vaulted and few buyers of either stone, glass or slate, which might help the charges of plucking down of them. Wherefore I certify your Lordship that it will be chargeable to the King, the down pulling of them, if I should follow the Commission, by the least one thousand marks within the shire. Therefore I think it were best, to avoid this charge, to take first down the bells and the lead, which I am about to do, for I had both plumber and ffyner (finer)

¹ Sate Papers, Hen. VIII., vol. 13, p. 949.

² Ellis, Original Letters, 3rd Series, vol. III., p. 268, Letter 359.

from London with me, with all manner of necessaries to them appertaining ; which bells and lead will rise well and to a great sum by the least six or seven thousand marks and this done to pull down the roofs, battlements and stairs, and let the walls stand and charge some with them as a quarry of stone to make sales of, as they that hath need will fetch.

“If you think this not the best way but that the King’s pleasure be to have them down, according to the Commission, it shall be done ; which must have a great time, for a hundred men be *skant* (scarcely) seen in a week in some Houses. And also hard to have so many to do it withal, because they apply now their harvest.

“Wherefore your pleasure herein I would fain by this bearer. And thus I pray God to give you such health wealth and long life as is in him to give. At Valdey the seventh day of August.

“Your poor man,

“JOHN FREMAN.”

One is glad to know that the King was so active in preserving the country from foreign invasion ; the pity of it is that he should for such a laudable purpose have thought it necessary to destroy many of the finest architectural monuments in his kingdom.

Whilst also we can approve of his desire to rid the nation of the paralysing dominance of the Roman curia in matters temporal and ecclesiastical, we cannot forgive him for not having prevented the destruction of buildings which, had they been allowed to remain, would have added so much to the glory and beauty of England.

Other nations have disestablished and disendowed the priesthood without allowing a single stone of their beautiful homes to be displaced. Witness the Certosa de Pavia, near Milan, one of the architectural gems of Europe.

So carefully has it been guarded by the Italian Government that as to-day the visitor enters the church, the last monk might be leaving by some back door ; not a single piece of the beautiful inlaid marble frontals of the altars is missing or defaced, and the church in every part, the cloisters, and the separate houses of the monks are all as perfect as when their owners were forced to surrender them.

THE VESTMENTS.

The ordinary vestments used in the abbeys were, apparently, usually sold on the spot to help to pay the expenses of the Commissioners ; more costly vestments were sent to London. "Scores (of vestments), chiefly of cloth of gold and silver, of tissue or worked in pearls, were preserved for the King's use." Thus, a set of "cloth of gold with ornaments of blue velvet" and three altar frontals from Beaulieu¹ . . . were saved from the general sales and sent up to London."

¹ R. O. Exch., Augt., off Treasurer's Roll, i., quoted in Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. II., p. 418.



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE LAY OWNERS OF THE MANOR OF BEAULIEU.

THE first lay owner of the Manor was descended from Sir John Wriothesley, Writh or Wrythe, Garter King-of-Arms and Faucon Herald in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. ; Norroy King-of-Arms, 1477 ; and head of the College of Heralds on its incorporation 1483. He died in 1504.

Sir John Wriothesley had two sons, of whom the elder, William, York Herald, was the father of Thomas Wriothesley, the first lay owner of Beaulieu Manor. The second, Thomas, was Waterford pursuivant, 1489 ; Garter King-of-Arms, 1504 ; officiated at jousts held at Tournai, 1513 ; knighted by Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, at Nuremberg. He died in 1534, leaving antiquarian and heraldic manuscripts and collections.

THE FIRST LAY OWNER OF BEAULIEU ABBEY.

Thomas Wriothesley was born in 1505, and was educated at King's Hall or St. John's College, Cambridge ; clerk of signet, 1530 ; entered Gray's Inn, 1534 ; "graver" of the Tower of London, 1536 ; ambassador to Regent of the Netherlands, Mary, Queen of Hungary, to propose a marriage between Henry VIII. and the Duchess of Milan, 1538 ; Knight of Shire of Southampton, 1539 ; joint principal secretary, 1540 ; knighted, 1540 ; Constable of Southampton Castle, 1541 ; formulated (1543) offensive and defensive league between Charles V. and Henry VIII., which resulted in the joint invasion of France, 1544. He was created **Baron Wriothesley, 1544** ; Lord Chancellor, 1544 ; K.G., 1545 ; appointed by Henry VIII. one of his

executors and Privy Councillor to Edward VI. ; created **Earl of Southampton 1547** ; deprived of office for issuing commissions to four civilians to hear chancery cases in his absence without consulting his fellow executors ; re-admitted to Council c. 1548 ; joined Warwick's opposition to Thomas Seymour, Baron Seymour of Sudeley, and the Protector ; abandoned by Warwick, and struck off list of Councillors, 1550. He died in 1550.

Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton, son of the first Earl. Born in 1545. He became involved in a scheme for marrying Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Duke of Norfolk, 1569, and was arrested and confined in the Tower of London for conspiracy, with Roman Catholics, 1569-1573. He died in 1581.

Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. Born in 1573 ; son of the second Earl. He was the patron of Shakespeare ; M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge ; entered Gray's Inn ; became patron of John Florio, an author, who was reader in Italian to Queen Anne, and groom to the Privy Chamber. (Florio's chief publications were a great Italian-English Dictionary, 1598, edited by Torriano (1659) and a translation of Montaigne's Essays.)

He was presented to Queen Elizabeth, 1590 ; Shakespeare dedicated to him "Venus and Adonis" in 1593, and "Lucrece," 1594. He is sometimes identified with the anonymous friend and patron described by Shakespeare in his sonnets. He involved himself in an intrigue with Elizabeth Vernon, one of the Queen's waiting women, 1595, and withdrew from Court, 1596. Volunteer under Essex in expeditions to Cadiz, 1596, and Azores, 1597. Accompanied Sir Robert Cecil on an embassy to Paris, 1598 ; secretly married Elizabeth Vernon and incurred Queen Elizabeth's displeasure ; went with Essex to Ireland, 1599, and became involved in Essex's conspiracy. Ordered

performance at Globe Theatre, 7th February, 1601, of Shakespeare's "Richard II." to excite public feeling, by representing on the stage the deposition of a King, and took part in the unsuccessful outbreak under Essex on February 8th; was imprisoned in the Tower of London and condemned to death, but his punishment commuted to imprisonment for life; released by James I., 1603, and made K.G. and Captain of the Isle of Wight and Carisbrooke Castle. **Re-created Earl of Southampton, 1603**; joined the Queen's Council, 1604; helped to equip Weymouth's expedition to Virginia, 1605; member of Virginia Company's Council, 1609, and Treasurer, 1620-4; member of East India Company, 1609; incorporator of North West Passage Company, 1612, and of Somers Island Company, 1615; Volunteer in War in Cleves, 1614; Privy Councillor, 1619; joined opponents of Buckingham; took command of troop of English Volunteers in Low Countries, and died of fever at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1624.

Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton, was son of the third Earl. Born 1607; succeeded to the title in 1624; was at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford; supported the resolution of the House of Commons that redress of grievances should precede supply, but subsequently joined Charles I.; Privy Councillor, 1642; became one of Charles I.'s closest advisers, making repeated efforts for peace. After the execution of Charles I. he lived in retirement in the country; Privy Councillor to Charles II. and K.G.; Lord High Treasurer of England, 1660-7; opposed in Council and Parliament the Bill for Liberty of Conscience, 1663. He died in 1667.

Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton, was married three times, and left three daughters but no male issue, and the title became extinct. From these daughters are descended the present Dukes of Portland, Beaufort, Bedford, Abercorn, Marlborough, Roxburghe,

Devonshire, Rutland, Athole, Northumberland, and Buccleuch.

The eldest daughter and co-heiress, Elizabeth, married Jocelyn Percy, eleventh Earl of Northumberland, who died in 1670. She married as her second husband,

Ralph Montagu, son of Edward Montagu, second Baron Montagu of Boughton. Ralph Montagu was ambassador extraordinary to Louis XIV., 1669 and 1676; he unsuccessfully endeavoured to get Monmouth declared Prince of Wales; retired to France, 1680; succeeded as **Baron Montagu**, 1684, and returned to England on the accession of James II.; took up William's cause at the Revolution; Privy Councillor and created **Viscount Monthermer** and **Earl of Montagu**, 1689; married, secondly, Elizabeth Cavendish, widow of Christopher Monck, second Duke of Albemarle, 1692; became **Marquis of Monthermer** and **Duke of Montagu**, 1705. He had issue,

John, second Duke of Montagu, son of the first Duke, succeeded as second Duke, 1709; Lord High Constable at the Coronation of George I., October 20th, 1714; Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, 1715; M.D. of Cambridge, October 7th, 1717; Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, 1717; Fellow of the Royal Society and K.G., 1718; Colonel of the 1st Troop of Horse Guards, 1713-21 and 1737; Knight of the Bath and Grand Master, 1725; bearer of the Sceptre with the Cross at the Coronation of King George II., 1727; Governor of the Isle of Wight, 1733-34; Member of the Privy Council, 1736; Lieutenant-General of Horse, 1739; General of Horse, 1746; Master General of the Ordnance, 1742-49; one of the Lords Justices of the Realm, 1745 to 1748. Died July 16th, 1749, when the title became extinct.

He had issue two daughters and co-heiresses, Isabel and Mary. Isabel married Edward Hussey, who later took the name of Hussey-Montagu, and was created **Lord Beaulieu of Beaulieu** in 1762, and **Earl of Beaulieu** in 1784. Mary married George Brudenell, fourth Earl of Cardigan, who was created Duke of Montagu in 1773. The property was for a time divided equally between the two daughters, but subsequently Lord Beaulieu became the sole owner. On his death, in 1802, without issue, it passed to **Elizabeth**, the daughter of Mary, Duchess of Montagu. Elizabeth married Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch, and had issue,

Charles William Henry, fourth Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry. Born 1772. He was succeeded by his son, **Walter Francis, fifth Duke of Buccleuch**, who married Lady Charlotte Anne Thynne, daughter of the Marquis of Bath, and had issue William Henry Walter Montagu Douglas Scott, sixth and present **Duke of Buccleuch**, and **Henry John Douglas Scott**, who, on succeeding to the Montagu estates of Beaulieu, Ditton Park, and the manor of Clitheroe, added the name of Montagu. He was created, 1885, **first Baron Montagu of Beaulieu**, and died in 1905, when he was succeeded by his son,

John Walter Edward Douglas Scott-Montagu, second Baron Montagu of Beaulieu, the present (1911) owner of Beaulieu Manor. Lord Montagu married, 1889, Lady Cecil Victoria Constance, daughter of the ninth Marquis of Lothian, by whom he has two daughters, Helen and Elizabeth Susan.



A CHRONOLOGY OF BEAULIEU ABBEY FROM A.D. 1204—1539.

A.D. 1203.

July 5th.—Writs issued relating to the Abbey of Faringdon.

1204.

August 16.—Letter from King John to the Cistercian Abbats asking for aid for the Abbey "which we have founded in the New Forest."

"The Feast of Pentecost."—Arrival of the Abbat and monks from Citeaux.

1204-5.

January 25th.—The Foundation Charter of the Abbey signed.

1205.

September 12th.—First gift of King John "for building our Abbey."

1206.

May 19th.—Visit of King John.

1208.

March 23rd.—England placed under an Interdict.

1212.

December 18th.—Visit of King John.

1213.

March 19th.—Visit of King John.

Abbat Hugh goes to Rome as Envoy of the King.

May.—The Interdict removed.

1216.

October 19th.—Death of the Founder King John.

1218.

August 1st.—Abbat Hugh elected Bishop of Carlisle.

1223.

March 13th.—Visit of King Henry III.

June 4th.—Death of Abbat Hugh.

1227.

August 14th.—The monks enter the Presbytery.

1235.

January 10th. } Visits of King Henry III.
December 20th. }

1239.

Isabella, Countess of Cornwall, buried in the Abbey.

1246.

June 17th.—Dedication of the Abbey.

Visit of King Henry III., Queen Eleanor and Prince Edward.

Abbat Alcuis sends the first convent to Newenham.

1265.

Abbat Dionysius sends the second convent to Newenham.

1272.

April 2.—Death of Richard, King of the Romans. His heart to be buried at Beaulieu.

1275.

January 24th.—Visit of King Edward I.

1276.

August 29th.—Visit of King Edward I.

1281.

May 9th.—William de Gisortio elected Abbat.

1285.

October 21st. }
 November 15th. } Visits of King Edward I.

1288.

Dan William of Cornwall, formerly Abbat of Newenham,
 buried in the Abbey.

1293.

September 6th and 9th.—Visit of King Edward I.

1307.

Peter de Chichester, Abbat.

1311.

Eleana, daughter of Edward I., buried in the Abbey.

1325.

February 4th. }
 April 5th. } Visits of King Edward II.

1340.

September 7th.—William de Hameldon licensed to receive
 benediction as Abbat.

1341.

The Abbats freed from attendance at Parliament.

1372.

August 22nd.—Walter Herring elected Abbat.

1390.

January 6th.—Death of Abbat Walter.

1392.

August 18th.—Tideman de Winchcombe elected Abbat.

1393.

July 5th.—The Abbat elected Bishop of Llandaff.

1394.

April 22nd.—Richard de Middleton elected Abbat.

1397.

March 16th.—Commission of Inquiry.

May 20th.—John of Gloucester elected Abbat. Abbat Richard deposed.

1400.

Richard de Middleton restored to office.

1425.

William Sulbury elected Abbat.

1427.

Abbat summoned to Westminster to produce proofs of right of Sanctuary.

1429.

William Woburn elected Abbat.

1471.

April 15th.—Queen Margaret of Anjou, Prince Edward, and the Countess of Warwick take Sanctuary.

1489.

August 18th.—Visit of King Henry VII.

1490.

Abbat Humphrey elected.

1497.

Perkin Warbeck takes Sanctuary.

1499.

August 19th.—Visit of King Henry VII.

Thomas Skevyngton or Pace elected Abbat.

1509.

June 17th.—Abbat Thomas consecrated Bishop of Bangor.

August 7th-13th.—Visit of King Henry VIII.

John Browning elected Abbat.

1533.

June.—Abbat Thomas, Bishop of Bangor, buried in the Abbey.

1536.

March.—Thomas Stevens elected Abbat.

1538.

April 2.—Surrender of the Abbey.

1539.

Sale of the Abbey and Manor to Thomas Wriothesley.

Destruction of the buildings by order of King Henry VIII.



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